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DR. FRANCIS LIEBER,

Professor of History and Law in Columbia College, New York.

THE GIFT OF

MICHAEL REESE,

Of San Francisco.

1873.

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LETTERS

WHICH HAVE APPEARED

IN THE

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ADDRESSED TO THE EDITOR,

UNDER THE SIGNATURE OF HERMANN.

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LETTERS

&c.

CHARLESTON, *January 16, 1830.*

Dear Sir: I rejoice that you persevere in advocating the cause of Truth, Free Trade, and Liberal Principles. May your efforts to refute error and stem the tide of prejudice, be crowned with success. How long, my good sir, are we to submit to be made subservient to the contracted and mercenary views of weavers and cotton spinners, and toil to please the champions of the "American System," falsely so termed. Who were the men that composed the armies of Washington and the gallant Hero of New Orleans? *Not manufacturers*, but the hardy sons of the forest, and the brave yeomanry of the United States. And who have contributed, by a well-directed and daring spirit of adventure, to elevate this Republic to the rank it holds among the nations of the world? Surely *not manufacturers*, but our enterprising merchants and mariners. What baleful talisman keeps us bound to this ruinous Tariff system? It cannot be long before reason, like the radiant light of the sun, will break through the clouds of prejudice and ignorance which unfortunately exist in the Tariff States, and illumine the road which leads to the best interests of the People. Commerce, free and unfettered commerce, can alone give us power and prosperity, aided by agriculture. The framers and supporters of this partial, unjust, and oppressive law, would convert our barns into warehouses for manufactured goods, our ploughs into spindles, and our ships into looms; and having compelled our honest tars to quit the ocean, they will at length, I should suppose, presume to

usurp the dominion of it, and, in the language of Canute, command the sea to retire. The bountiful God of Nature has made the ocean to serve as the common highway of nations, to enable them to exchange, on terms of reciprocity, the products of the soil, and the various articles of merchandise, for the use and comfort of mankind, and to cultivate peace, friendship, and good will with all, "*entangling alliances with none*." Are we to be the victims of a spirit of infatuation, and, by the mad policy of visionary men, to be deprived of all these advantages, and be barred out from the rights we inherit from our forefathers? *Reason and justice forbid it*. I venture to predict, that if this odious Tariff be persisted in for two years, that our sailors will be either driven into foreign service, or become smugglers, many of our ships, in every port, will be laid by to rot, our revenue be diminished one half, and, to end all our calamities, a dissolution of the States. But, (to use a nautical phrase,) I do not yet despair of the ship. We must trust to the returning good sense and energies of the people, to revive the good principles which prevailed under the Washington Administration, and by dismissing from their service the enemies to Free Trade, once more re-establish those kind feelings which formerly so happily existed between the North and the South. I shall hail the day with joy, when the disciples of List, Carey, and Niles shall renounce their erroneous theory. I sincerely hope that the good people of your native State, (particularly the honest Germans and their descendants,) will not be misled by the idle clamor of the home market and non-exportation of the precious metals. These subjects, which have been so ably treated on by that admirable writer, Jean Baptiste Say, must be familiar to you. He remarks, "By the exclusion of specific manufactures of foreign fabric, a government establishes a monopoly in favor of the home producers of those articles, and in prejudice of the home consumers; that is to say, those classes of the nation which produce them, being entitled to their exclusive sale, can raise their prices above the natural rates, while the home consumers, being unable to purchase elsewhere, are compelled to pay for them unnaturally dear. If the articles be not wholly prohibited, but merely saddled with an impost duty, the home producers can then increase their price by the whole amount of the duty, and the consumer will have to pay the difference." In another place, this excellent writer observes: "If one country afford to another what the latter wants in exchange, what more would she have? Or, in what respect would gold be preferable? for what else can be wanted, than as the means of subsequently purchasing the objects

of desire?" If the friends of the Tariff would only consent to be guided by this doctrine, all would be right, and our country would be happy and united. Wishing you success in a just cause, &c.

HERMANN.

CHARLESTON, *February 28, 1830.*

Dear Sir: The cause of Free Trade ought not to escape the serious consideration of every intelligent man, whether he be in or out of the National Legislature. The enemies of the Tariff are rapidly increasing in every section of the United States, and I rejoice to hear that a revisal of it occupies some part of the precious time of Congress. I am but an humble citizen, in private life, and devoted to the cultivation of the soil; but were I a member of that honorable body, I should conceive it to be a paramount duty to use my utmost efforts to assist in effecting a repeal of it, and thereby yield to the voice of my fellow-citizens, which, from every part of the Union, calls loudly for *justice!* I am personally acquainted with many sensible and worthy men, who, on the passage of the Tariff Law of 1828, were among its warmest friends, but are now convinced of their error. "Truth is powerful, and must prevail." They are indeed truly great who can, by a noble triumph over their feelings, subdue their prejudices; and for this I honor and respect them. We are all liable to err, and are told by an eminent writer, that there is no doctrine so false, but it may be intermixed with some truth. Laws are enacted for the preservation of our political rights and moral welfare; but whatever legislative measure militates against the best interests of the people, must weaken the ties of morality. I am by no means inimical to domestic manufactures; but a law which has for its object the protection of manufactures, to the injury of agriculture and commerce, must be productive of perjury and smuggling, and injure that very class it was intended to serve. How unworthy is this avaricious and contracted policy of the Government of an enlightened people. "*Quid non mortalia pectora cogis, auri sacra fames!*"

Manufactories, while judiciously conducted, and based on capital, with enterprize and mechanical ingenuity, will prosper without the officious aid of Government; let their growth be the work of time, reared by the hand of industry, fostered and matured by the good

wishes and support of the people of this great Republic, but not prematurely forced on by legislative power. We are informed by a speech of a Senator in Congress, from Massachusetts, that the United States have at this time upwards of two hundred millions of acres for sale; this is more than sufficient to maintain thirty millions of people, *exclusive* of the vast bodies of land owned by companies and wealthy individuals. Agriculture has a charm for the rich, as well as the poor, which will, for a century to come, oppose obstacles to the advancement of manufactures, to any great extent, in America. It is not reasonable to presume that a poor emigrant arriving from Europe, who understands the use of the plough and the axe, would prefer the confinement of a manufactory to the cheerful, healthy, and independent life of a husbandman. What man can be found, who would not exchange a life of drudgery and comparative servility, for that of a freeholder? We know that land can be obtained in the Southern and Western States at the most trifling expense; and if half the efforts had been made to encourage emigrants to settle on the public lands, which have been made use of for promoting manufactures, the nation would be infinitely more united and happy; and if the same amount of money which has been sent from the United States for the inhabitants of Ireland and Greece, had been bestowed in affording to the persecuted of those countries an asylum in America, and establishing them under the humane patronage of the Government, as cultivators of the soil, the cause of humanity, and the interest of the nation, would be more promoted than by any other mode which could be devised. What more cogent objection can be produced to the increase and extension of manufactures, than the fact which has been stated, "that the United States have in the market more than two hundred millions of acres surveyed and ready for sale?" And must this immense region remain a wilderness for want of laborers! Great Britain and Ireland, (according to the best authority,) with a population of twenty-two millions, comprise only eighty-five millions of acres; and from necessity, *more than choice*, are devoted to manufactures. The population of the United States consists of thirteen millions, and the Territory of Arkansas is alone nearly equal in extent to Great Britain; and yet we are so infatuated as to be ambitious of rivalling her in manufactures. Heaven knows there is nothing enviable in the condition of any manufacturing nation of Europe. It is truly absurd to be jealous of the prosperity of Britain, France, or any other country; on the contrary, we have cause for exultation, that Providence has enabled us to cultivate a friendly

intercourse with them for the benefit of the human race. If we are opposed to British manufactures, we are not averse to partake of the bounty of benevolent Englishmen to aid in establishing Colleges and Theological Seminaries; and, for the purpose of forwarding Internal Improvements, we feel no reluctance in borrowing money from the honest, laborious, and enterprizing Dutch. A late illustrious writer,* has justly observed, that the more extended and the more constant intercourse which the improvements in commerce and in the art of navigation have opened among the distant quarters of the globe, cannot fail to operate in undermining local and national prejudices, and imparting to the whole species the intellectual acquisitions of each particular community. The accumulated experience of ages has already taught the rulers of mankind, that the most fruitful and the most permanent sources of revenue are to be derived, not from conquered and tributary provinces, but from the internal prosperity and wealth of their own subjects: and the same experience now begins to teach nations, that the increase of their own wealth, so far from depending on the poverty and depression of their neighbors, is intimately connected with their industry and opulence; and, consequently, that those commercial jealousies which have hitherto been so fertile a source of animosity among different States, are founded entirely on ignorance and prejudice." One of the greatest evils which has already ensued from the present Tariff, is smuggling. This will increase to a most alarming extent; and not all the power of the Federal Government can ever prevent it. The odious law is not only destructive of the moral welfare, but of the best interests of the people. It is as unjust and oppressive to persist in the execution of it, as it would be to compel the farmers to sell their produce at home, and exclude them from the benefit of a foreign market; one act of oppression soon leads to another. If, by partial and unjust laws, you divert trade from its natural and regular course, and by extorting from other countries more than they are disposed to exact from you, they will be forced to prefer other markets than your own, and it will be attended not only with serious loss and embarrassment, but it will be very difficult, if not impossible, ever to regain our influence and rank in the commercial world. An eminent French author very aptly remarks, that, in pursuit of what it mistakes for profound policy, or to gratify feelings it supposes to be laudable, a government will sometimes prohibit, or divert the course of a particular trade,

* Dugald Stewart.

and thereby do irreparable mischief to the productive powers of that nation. When Philip II. became master of Portugal, and forbade all intercourse between his new subjects and the Dutch, whom he detested, what was the consequence? The Dutch, who before resorted to Lisbon for the manufactures of India, of which they took an immense quantity, finding this avenue closed against their industry, went straight to India for what they wanted, and, in the end, drove out the Portuguese from that quarter; and what was meant as the deadly blow of inveterate hatred, turned out the main source of their aggrandizement. I do most sincerely hope, that the friends of Free Trade will persevere in their laudable efforts to destroy the spirit of monopoly which so unfortunately exists in the very body of the present Tariff Law; and which, if not soon extinguished, must involve these States in the deepest distress. If the manufacturers of the North are desirous of the good wishes and support of their fellow-citizens of the South, they must abandon the Restrictive System; and by so doing they will secure not only a disposition to favor American manufactures, but they will give the fatal blow to smuggling, and restore harmony, unanimity, and prosperity, among the people of the United States.

HERMANN.

SOUTH CAROLINA, *February, 1830.*

Dear Sir: Every advocate of liberal principles must feel a deep interest in the success of your valuable paper, which sustains with great ability the cause of Free Trade, against the most preposterous doctrines which have ever been advanced in this country, and must, if persevered in, not only destroy commerce, and reduce to misery our brave and worthy mariners, but rend asunder those ties which were cemented by the precious blood of the Revolution, and have hitherto bound the North to the South in strict friendship and harmony; and God grant that this social compact may never be cancelled by hypocrisy and blind infatuation. It remains for the Banner of the Constitution to rally the champions of Free Trade and Sailors' Rights, and to invoke the God of Freedom to protect this happy Republic from the iron grasp of the Tariff monster. Your friends must aid you in exposing its naked deformities, and in exhibiting to the view of the people its hideous features; like a Typhon or a Bri-

areus, it only exists to devour. Sir, in order more effectually to convince the people of the absurdity of the present Tariff, we must lay aside all the abstruse principles of political economy, and adapt our language and reasoning to their understanding, in plain matter of fact and common sense addresses: they have a right to expect it from us, and to be warned against the danger which threatens to involve them in ruin. We must know if they are willing to submit to be instrumental in pampering a few lordly proprietors of cotton and woollen manufactories. The hardy yeomanry of this country, and the honest laborers, (especially those inhabiting your native State,) cannot much longer sanction a law which will ultimately ruin our foreign commerce, and reduce the revenue to so paltry a sum that the Government will be obliged to resort to direct taxes.

Of all the measures which ever disgraced a free nation, the Tariff is the most prominent. Consider it as you may, it is partial, unjust, and oppressive; a spirit of monopoly gave birth to it, and it is nourished by sordid interests, for the benefit of a few. Is this grovelling passion, then, to triumph, and corrupt the generous feelings of the sons of WASHINGTON, under the perverted and hypocritical term of the American System? speciously invented to favor the views of a party, who, whatever may be their motives, will, I trust, ere long witness its downfall, beneath the frowns of an indignant people. A highly estimable statesman lately declared in the Senate of the United States, that the people of America are, and ought to be for a century to come, essentially an agricultural people!

There can be no doubt of the truth of this assertion. The vast field which agriculture opens to enterprize, and the blessings it diffuses, will for a long time oppose various obstacles to the prosperity of manufactures. Immorality, ignorance, poverty, and disease, are, unhappily, too often the inmates of manufactories in the large cities of Europe, which present a sad picture of squalid wretchedness. Let this serve as a warning to the people of the United States not to embark too extensively in manufactures. In the New England States, a crowded and intelligent population cannot fail to support manufactories under the most favorable circumstances; and, if left to their own ingenuity and resources, they must prosper: they should reject the interference of the General Government, if they wish to secure the hearty co-operation and zealous support of their friends in the Southern States. The existing Tariff Law is fraught with dire calamity to the people of the United States. It will be productive of many evils. If it does not lead to a dissolution of the Union, it will

at least excite hostile and angry feelings. It has already given rise to extensive smuggling; it will, from necessity, oblige many of our poor mariners to engage in it, whilst it will drive others to seek for employment in foreign service. It will be difficult to prevent frauds from being practised on the officers of the customs. It has reduced the value of our lands and the wages of the poor. The price of produce is much depreciated. It will check the spirit of emigration, and thereby retard the improvement of the Southern and Western States. It will diminish a friendly intercourse with the civilized nations of the world, and force them to other markets for cotton, wheat, rice, tobacco, and lumber, and by that means inflict a severe wound on our agricultural and commercial interests. It is fallacious to suppose that a home market can consume one-third of the produce of the United States. It is to be hoped that the majority in Congress will have the magnanimity to acknowledge their error, and annul a law which is found on experiment to be vexatious and unjust, and which, if persisted in, will create general distress among all classes, and, by encouraging smuggling, injure the very people it was intended to serve. There would be as much justice in exacting a toll from every ship that crosses the Atlantic, as continuing in force the present Tariff Law. Accept my sincere good wishes for the success of the Banner of the Constitution; and may it ever be raised for the protection of Free Trade and Sailors' Rights.

HERMANN.

SOUTH CAROLINA, April 7, 1830.

Dear Sir: You are not to infer from my long silence that I despair of the cause of Free Trade, of which I am happy to find you continue the able advocate. The champions of the Tariff were enabled to carry their point only by dint of the utmost perseverance, and suffered no favorable opportunities to escape to make converts to their doctrines; and were ably seconded by their friends, who successfully executed a well-organized plan of public meetings, to aid in adopting their "*American System*," as they have been pleased to term it; and, strange as it may appear, to give a more imposing effect to their deliberations, a Convention was held at Harrisburg, in Pennsylvania, and in the very heart of a rich and beautiful country, inhabited by an industrious and enterprising people, devoted to

agriculture, who, I am sorry to say, remain passive under an odious and oppressive law, passed by Congress in obedience to the proceedings of that very Convention; and which, while it fails to answer the expectations of the manufacturer, strongly militates against the farmer and merchant. If the friends of Free Trade would act with half the energy that characterizes their opponents, we should soon witness a termination to a system so derogatory to a free people, and pernicious to their interests. Let us use no stratagem, no sophistry; but address our fellow-citizens throughout the United States in the plain language of truth; and, by a dispassionate and ingenuous appeal to their good sense, ask if they will submit to be the dupes of a party, which persists in supporting a law that imposes heavy duties on some articles of the greatest use to the poor, and not only renders the agriculturists tributary to the manufacturers, but impoverishes both merchants and mariners. Let us request them to give an attentive perusal to the very able and argumentative Memorial of the Boston Merchants, as well as to the convincing and lucid Reports of Mr. Cambreleng, of N. York, and Mr. McDuffie, of S. Carolina. These most important documents have fully exposed and refuted the Tariff doctrine, and should be read by every unprejudiced man who is friendly to foreign commerce. It is a happy circumstance that we live in a country where no sedition laws exist, to prevent us from freely canvassing the measures of the Government, and where the sentiments of the most humble citizen can be conveyed, through the press, without being dismayed by the arm of tyranny, or intimidated by the jargon and prating of demagogues. We depend on your highly intelligent paper for the earliest and most authentic information relative to any change which may occur in Congress in favor of *Free Trade*. The people anxiously await the wisdom of that body to grant them relief. Suspense is painfully irksome; and, in the words of an eminent writer, "there is a point beyond which patience ceases to be a virtue, and degenerates into weakness." There is a crisis in national affairs when the voice of an enlightened people must be heard, and when the mask of duplicity must be laid aside. Proceed, my good sir, in your career of usefulness, and may the BANNER OF THE CONSTITUTION be ever raised in behalf of the rights of your countrymen, and be to them the same fearless and zealous champion at home, *that you have been so honorably in a foreign country*. THE BANNER OF THE CONSTITUTION will need no brazen trumpet to proclaim its triumph; no mockery of empty pageantry to mark its progress. You need use no metaphorical lan-

guage—no ribaldry—no affectation of the merveilleux. In pursuing the solemn and delightful march of intellect, you will never deviate from the path of rectitude; and I trust that, in making honor and *consistency* the rule of your conduct, you will never cease to vindicate the principles of Free Trade and Sailors' Rights! Admitting the motives of the friends of the Tariff to be perfectly patriotic and disinterested, they will soon have cause to be convinced of the failure of their projects, and the manufacturers will learn how much more beneficial it will be to trust to their own resources, than to confide too implicitly to the officious zeal and ill-timed interference of their political friends. What atonement will the friends of the Tariff be able to make to the people of the United States for the loss of the greater part of their most valuable foreign trade? What reparation can they afford the merchants and ship owners, if they are reduced to a state of bankruptcy? What will be the situation of the greater part of a hundred thousand sailors, if their interests are to be sacrificed to a most ruinous and disgraceful policy? Is it in the South and South-western States alone, that the evil effects of the Restrictive System are felt? Ask the most enlightened merchants and agriculturists, through every section of the United States, their opinion of the measure, and they will readily pronounce it to be *partial* and oppressive. Our great commercial cities already feel the pressure of the times, and cannot much longer endure the hardships imposed on them by a destructive spirit of monopoly. It is in the power of the General Government to heal the wound inflicted by a precipitate and ill-directed experiment. Our rulers may be admonished by the language of a great moral writer, "that no usage, law, or authority whatever, is so binding that it need or ought to be continued, when it may be changed with advantage to the community." The same oracular voice warns us against submitting to oppression, and tells us, "that physical strength is vested not in the *governors*, but the *governed*; and requires only to be *felt* and *roused*." Legislative bodies are instituted, in every free nation, by the people, for the express purpose of protecting their rights, to enact such equitable laws as may secure to all classes of the community the full enjoyment of life, liberty, and property. We are taught to believe that nothing but good can emanate from the Federal Constitution; it follows, therefore, that if an act of Congress is productive of evil, (as in the case of the Tariff,) it must be repugnant to the spirit and principles of the Constitution.

If it was the intention of the Tariff party to retaliate on the British

nation for the exorbitant duties levied on our flour, rice, tobacco, &c. &c., then why not confine the Restrictive System to that nation and her dominions, until an honorable and amicable arrangement can be made with the Government of Great Britain to trade on terms of reciprocity. Under pretence of retaliating on Great Britain, the Tariff monster was let loose, to devour indiscriminately all who have come within its grasp. It spares neither French, Germans, nor Dutch. Is this the grateful reward we pay to the brave French nation, for services she rendered our country during the Revolution? And must the Germans and Dutch, who have done more to enrich the United States, by their honest industry, than all the mines of Peru could effect, must they, too, be sacrificed to artifice and to political intrigue? must they be made to toil for the benefit of weavers and cotton spinners? to be confined to a home market, and, by an arbitrary law, be shut out from the blessings of a free trade and foreign commerce? Descendants of Hermann and Van Tromp! Freedom is your birthright! and as long as you cultivate the soil of America you have a just right to all the advantages your industry can give; there is not an able-bodied man among you, but he may make ten times as much corn as he can possibly consume: the home market, therefore, is soon glutted, and foreign markets must be found for the surplus produce. The Tariff policy is selfish and ungenerous; for it not only debars us from free intercourse with all the world, but it depreciates land and labor, and the products of the soil; is inimical to the poor, and will exclude from the sea our hardy mariners; whilst it discourages many thousands of useful and necessitous people from emigrating to America, where several hundred millions of acres of land are yet to be cultivated.

I remain yours, &c.

HERMANN.

SOUTH CAROLINA, *February 7, 1831.*

Dear Sir: The friends of Free Trade and Sailors' Rights have much reason to rejoice that you have transferred the Banner of the Constitution to the great commercial city of New York, and in sight of that blessed Ocean which the Almighty has ordained to be the high road of nations, by which a friendly intercourse can be kept up, with a liberal interchange of all those commodities which the

industry of man can furnish, aided by the bounty of Providence. Foreign commerce is so essential to the prosperity of the United States, that no oppressive or unjust legislative proceedings ought to interfere with the honest efforts and enterprize of our merchants. It has ever been the sincere wish of every true patriot, that they might be permitted to enjoy a free and unfettered trade with all quarters of the globe; but the Tariff, like the destructive pestilence of Egypt, has spread dismay among them; they are left to struggle with adversity, and their enemies would compel them to abandon the golden sands of Pactolus for the dismal shores of Cocytus. The proud and honorable title of American Merchant will soon be extinct; the deadly triumph of the American System will be complete, and its votaries will revel with a bacchanalian joy, characteristic of their mad ambition to rear up manufactures, and make a wreck of agriculture and commerce. Sir, I do not hesitate to pronounce the Tariff of 1828 a violation of the rights of the people, an exercise of power that would disgrace an Ottoman Divan, in this enlightened age; and if Congress are determined to persevere in the enforcement of it—then, adieu to that liberty for which the precious blood of our Revolutioary heroes was shed—adieu to the Constitution which the united wisdom of our patriot statesmen framed to shield us from oppressions, and to be a guarantee for equitable laws and equal rights. I believe most conscienciously that the Restrictive System could never have been adopted in the days of Washington; the very attempt to impose such a measure on the people would have been considered an act of madness. All monopolies in a free country, are odious and oppressive, and ought to be resisted; they engender a spirit of selfishness, and are only created for the exclusive benefit of a few avaricious adventurers. “Who,” says an eniment French writer, “are the classes of the community so importunate for prohibitions or heavy import duties? The producer of the particular commodity that applies for protection from competition, not the consumers of that commodity. The public interest is their plea, but *self-interest* is evidently their object. Well, but say these gentry, are they not the same thing? are not our gains national gains? By no means: whatever profit is acquired in this manner, is so much taken out of the pockets of a neighbor and fellow-citizen; and if the excess of charge thrown upon consumers by the monopoly could be correctly computed, it would be found that the loss of the consumer exceeds the gain of the monopolist. Here, then, individual and public interest are in direct opposition to each other; and since public interest is

understood by the enlightened few alone, is it at all surprising that the Prohibitive System should find so many partisans and so few opponents? Let the people beware of false friends and insidious demagogues. We are not without our Polignacs, who regard their own interest more than the welfare of the Republic. I do not impeach the motives of respectable and enlightened manufacturers—for many of them have already proclaimed to the nation that they are willing to trust to their own resources; they do not require the fawning adulations of popularity seekers; they want not the officious and extravagant aid of the Government; *their* motto is, “laissez nous faire;” their probity is their surest safeguard. To these worthy men I would say, God prosper you! and grant you the support and good wishes of the people through every section of the United States.

I have no sectional prejudices or enmities—they are the offspring of contracted minds. I seek the good of my country, and desire no other reward than an approving conscience. I will not subject my tongue to a gag-law; but as long as the liberty of the press exists, I will claim the privilege of a freeman, in holding up to public execration tyranny, in whatever form it may appear. I will not degrade myself by vituperative, scurrilous, and vulgar abuse, which some of our opponents have descended to use; nor will your correspondent shrink from a candid and honorable controversy. The Tariff contest has produced for us many adversaries, but theirs is an unhallowed cause, and must fail. We are not afraid to meet them in a fair and open field, and will never yield to those who have armed against Free Trade and Sailors' Rights. To expose the naked deformity of the “American System” is certainly no difficult task; facts can be adduced from the works of the most eminent writers the world has ever produced, to defeat the champions of high tariffs and prohibitory laws. It is only necessary to mention the names of Fénélon, Dugald Stewart, Say, Washington, Hamilton, and Jefferson, to dissolve the wild theories which have been advanced in favor of the Tariff. If the opinions of these illustrious men are to be disregarded, then is sound reasoning useless, and wisdom of no avail in the cause of truth. Has not our estimable President (the honest politician and enlightened statesman) recommended a revision of the present Tariff Law to Congress? Has not the same victorious Jackson, (the man of the people, and their fearless vindicator) pointed out the necessity of some modification? But his advice has been spurned and rejected. And has it come to this, that he must be treated with contumely? Will not the people hurl from their seats those who have thus slighted their favorite, who has, in the mildest manner, offered

his wise and judicious counsel, in what relates to their dearest interests? It is high time that the poor should be roused to a sense of danger of the evils that will arise from this same Tariff Law. Like a prowling wolf in sheep's clothing, it fattens on the vitals of the innocent lamb, and seeks to devour those who are most unsuspecting, and least capable of defending themselves. The whole fabric is rotten, from its very foundation—it cannot last, for it is based on corruption. The Tariff does not materially affect the rich, but it makes a victim of the poor man; he is taxed without mercy on almost every necessary article he consumes; he is misled by false doctrines, to flatter and beguile him into a tacit consent to wear the yoke, at the will and pleasure of his oppressors, that he may assist to pamper the lordly cultivator of sugar, the rich proprietors of salt and iron works, and the wealthy manufacturers of cotton and wool-len stuffs.

The Tariff is a serious obstacle to the facility of promoting useful knowledge. It may, perhaps, benefit a few great publishers in America, but it taxes heavily foreign books, maps, paintings, paper, &c. In the true spirit of Vandalism, it wages war against the arts and sciences. It spares neither mind nor body. It injures most severely merchants, farmers, planters, ship owners, sailors, mechanics, and the laboring poor who toil in the fields, the forest, and the work shop; but if they presume to murmur against the “American,” or I ought rather to term it the *gulling* system, then they attempt to use the gag-law, or, in place of argument, they revile, rebuke, and denounce them as nullifiers and disunionists. Sir, we live in “evil times,” when honest men are persecuted to elevate the enemies of Free Trade, that they may grow rich at the expense of the merchant, the farmer, and the mariner. I venture to assert, that if the brave people of France were placed in possession of the uncultivated and fertile territory now owned by the Americans, with similar unbounded commercial and agricultural resources, that they would rise in the majesty of their strength, (with their beloved La Fayette at their head,) to resist a law which will impoverish the people, pick their pockets, relax their morals, loosen the sacred bands of society, introduce smuggling, and drive our brave tars from the Ocean, to seek refuge on sickly lakes and muddy canals, or make them carmen for rail-roads. These are but a few plain hints: I have yet more in reserve, and trust they may find their way among such as are unwilling to be duped by the machinations of political jugglers.

Your obedient servant,

HERMANN.

SOUTH CAROLINA, *March*, 1831.

Dear Sir: The majority in Congress, like the satellites of Charles the Tenth, presume to think themselves fully capable of governing the people, without being called upon to answer for their errors. During their two last sessions, we were kept in anxious expectation that the Tariff, so justly termed "the bill of abominations," if not repealed in toto, would, at least, have been modified in such a manner as to afford relief to an injured people. The President, from a zealous devotion to the public interest, recommended some alterations of the law, as he wisely thought there was a necessity to repeal the obnoxious parts, which bear particularly hard on certain portions of the population of the United States; and without reference to any section of the Union, his motive was, no doubt, to benefit the poorer classes of all who are engaged in agriculture, commerce, and the mechanic trades. In his Message he expressly says: "The present Tariff taxes some of the comforts of life unnecessarily high; it undertakes to protect interests too local and minute to justify a general exaction, and it also attempts to force some kinds of manufactures for which the country is not ripe." What can be more just than these remarks? Was it not due to the feelings of this faithful friend of his country, that his advice should be received with the most prompt and respectful attention? The very reverse was the case. His prudent recommendations were criticised in the most improper manner, and rejected with contumely. The President felt it to be a duty he owed his fellow-citizens, to exercise a virtuous influence to relieve them from the burdens of taxation; for, although friendly to manufactures, he is inimical to oppression. Every part of his able Message ought to have been distinguished by a calm deliberation, and free and dignified discussion. The people of the United States are insulted when an indignity is offered to their Chief Magistrate; and of the conduct of the Committee on Manufactures they have much to complain. The intolerant spirit of a majority has been shamefully exhibited towards a numerous and highly respectable body of citizens of Philadelphia. No less than three hundred and fifty honest and laborious blacksmiths and manufacturers of hardware represented their grievances, in the most lucid, explicit, and respectful terms, to Congress, and prayed, in their petition, for a repeal of the duty on iron; but they have experienced the same disrespectful treatment as

was exhibited to the President. The enlightened men, of every age and nation, have been opposed to a Restrictive System. Washington and Jefferson were always in favor of low duties, and the words of that great and experienced statesman, General Hamilton, cannot be too often quoted. In the thirty-fifth number of the first volume of the *Federalist*, he expressly says: "Exorbitant duties on imported articles serve to beget a general spirit of smuggling, which is always prejudicial to a fair trader, and, eventually, to the revenue itself: they tend to render other classes of the community tributary, in an improper degree, to the manufacturing classes, to whom they give a premature monopoly of the markets: they sometimes force industry out of its more natural channels, into others in which it flows with less advantage; and, in the last place, they oppress the merchant, who is often obliged to pay them himself, without any retribution from the consumer." No law passed by an American Congress since the Declaration of Independence, has ever operated so unfairly as this same Tariff of 1828. It fosters a vile spirit of monopoly, by protecting a very small class of the population, to the serious injury of every other: It has been made an instrument of intrigue and faction, to elevate demagogues and popularity-seekers to power: It taxes, without mercy, all the most necessary and useful articles of life imported from foreign countries, and thereby increases in price every article manufactured by the United States. No efforts have been left untried, by the advocates of the Tariff, to secure their favorite measure, and lull the people into an ignominious submission. An eminent writer has truly said, that "when the multitude are to be dealt with, there is a charm in sounds." The empty title of the "American System," can have no charm but for the vulgar ear. It has been introduced to beguile; it is plausible, and not without its effect; but it has been applied to a bad cause, which cannot be much longer sustained, unless the people are willing to relinquish their freedom, and be subservient to despotism, and a nefarious policy.

With a view to appease and divert the people, the Tariff party have circulated a rumor, that whenever the National Debt is paid, high duties will not be necessary. This is, indeed, a paltry subterfuge, worthy of the source from which it emanates. Patience is already exhausted, and no longer becomes a virtue when put to the test of such artifice. Every man of common sense in the United States must know that a sale of less than one-fourth of the public lands would extinguish the debt. It was never contemplated by those patriotic statesmen, to whom we are indebted for the Consti-

tution, that duties should be levied on imported goods for the purpose of protecting domestic manufactures. The sole object was to raise a sufficient revenue, by moderate duties, to meet the exigencies of the State; and, I sincerely believe, if the Congress under the Washington Administration had attempted to force upon the people such a law as the present Tariff, it would have met a general resistance from Maine to Georgia. There was a time when men were lauded to the skies for resisting a Tea Tax, and Stamp Act; but those who ought to resist "the bill of abomination," are denounced as "nullifiers," and traitors, and such like opprobrious names; but he deserves to be a slave who suffers himself to be intimidated by ribaldry and empty threats, when engaged in vindicating his own rights and those of his country. Let our adversaries, the redoubtable champions of looms and spinning-jennies, enforce submission within the walls of their manufactories, but the hardy mariners and yeomanry of America, I trust, will not much longer submit to be their dupes and pliant tools. I thank God that our cause is rapidly increasing in strength. Maine and New Hampshire—two bright stars of the East—will never be obscured by the Tariff darkness which pervades their sister States. Boston—that polished and hospitable city—contains many brave and enlightened patriots, who will assist to restore commercial prosperity, and will unite with the South in resisting tyranny. Let her worthy sons who so nobly advocate the cause of Free Trade persevere, and they will triumph. Let them show the spirit *now*, that actuated their ancestors at the commencement of the American Revolution, and all will be right in spite of the puerile language, and the low vulgarity by which they have been assailed at a late election. Their cause is a righteous one, and must prevail against persecution and intolerance.

The advocates of the "American System," in order to reconcile the people to their selfish doctrine, have declared their intention of rendering the United States perfectly independent of Europe. But this, however, laudable the motives, is fully consistent with all their chimerical projects. It is very certain there is no perfect independence in commercial transactions; for interest will ever regulate men as well as nations, in their intercourse, from which mutual advantages arise. France and England draw their chief supply of cotton, rice, and tobacco, from the United States, and give us, in exchange, the articles of their manufactures we most need. It is, therefore, our interest to cultivate the most friendly and honorable understanding with these, and all other nations, by whose trade we may

benefit. It is the most egregious folly that a Government can be guilty of, to interfere with the regular and natural course of trade, by an unjust Tariff, which must, necessarily, embarrass and distress. "Honesty is surely the best policy," and all measures adopted in opposition to this maxim, will produce fraud and distrust. We have professed to act in the true spirit of liberality and justice to all nations; but since the passage of the Tariff Law of 1828, the character of the United States has much depreciated in the general estimation of foreigners, who now charge the people of America with being sordid and selfish. The present Tariff, in every feature of it, is characterized by the most flagrant violation of justice and fair dealing, particularly with regard to Holland and the free ports of Germany.

I am, dear sir, yours,

HERMANN.

SOUTH CAROLINA, *March 30, 1831.*

Dear Sir : You must not infer from the occasional interruption to our correspondence, that I am disposed to relax in contributing my humble efforts to aid the cause of Free Trade, which you have so ably and meritoriously sustained in your valuable paper, by sound argument and well-established facts. The champions of the American System availed themselves of our lukewarmness to propagate their doctrines among the people of those sections of the United States where they expected to make converts, either by flattering the vanity of some, gratifying the avarice of others, or exciting a spirit of hostility against the citizens of States who would not submit to be the willing dupes of a sophistry which can easily be refuted and exposed in its proper colors. You have truly observed, Mr. Editor, that "the present day may very appropriately be called a time to try men's souls," and that "this country has never been so near a political vortex as at this moment." Faction and artifice have succeeded in imposing on the freemen of this nation a burden of taxation, in the form of a Tariff Law, which, to the eternal disgrace of our Republic, has been tacitly borne, without making an efficient struggle to shake it off. It is time for the people to calculate their strength, judge for themselves, and be no longer misguided by the ambitious and mercenary views of designing and visionary men.

No stronger proof can be exhibited against the arbitrary conduct of the majority in Congress, than the rejection or cold and unfriendly reception of those measures which militate against their favorite Tariff. Public opinion has been set at defiance, freedom of debate has been abused, coarse and taunting words have been uttered in place of mild and gentlemanly language, and discord has reigned, where, in the happy days of Washington, peace and liberty presided. Unjust reproaches have been heaped on the liberal party, from which not even the Chief Magistrate has been spared. His endeavor to relieve the poor from taxation, has been, in the opinions of the Tariff gentry, a most heinous offence. But it is for the people to judge of the conduct of their Representatives, and determine how far they can be justified for having refused to repeal the most obnoxious parts of that law, usually termed "the bill of abominations." The President did no more than his duty, and that from the most pure and patriotic motives. He deserves well of his country. Any panegyric from my pen, on his character, would be a work of supererogation. A grateful country has rewarded his merits. Envy and calumny cannot taint his bright fame. Whilst many of his countrymen were reposing in security, he was enduring all the hardships of a military life, and fighting the battles of his country; and, in the evening of his days, he is still found devoted to her service. He lives, like the mighty oak of the forest, unscathed by time or tempest, and, when he falls, posterity will do justice to his memory.

The Committee on Manufactures appear to have been extremely sensitive whenever the Tariff question was agitated. They were violently opposed to a modification of it, sensible, as they must be, that a bad work will not bear the test of strict examination, lest it crumble into nought. They candidly acknowledge that "any change in its provisions would shake confidence in the plighted faith of Government." Let me tell these gentlemen, in the words of Mr. Jefferson, "error alone needs the support of Government." Truth can stand by itself. So, forsooth, the people must do homage to this Committee, and continue to be subject to the oppressive operations of a law which the President very properly recommended should be revised, and that "each interest should be presented singly for deliberation." But they were determined not to follow his advice, convinced that a *bad cause* would not admit of free investigation, without undergoing a thorough reform. An attempt was made to raise the duty on salt, that most necessary article of life, but, fortu-

nately, failed. Mr. Haynes, of Georgia, in a very able and sensible speech, advocated the reduction of the duty on brown sugar. He concluded, by making an appeal to the "practical good sense of the country," and expressed his wish "to awaken in the bosom of the laboring man, as he whistles over the handles of his plough, the inquiry why this unequal and burdensome tax should be continued, mainly for the benefit of the lordly capitalist."

I shall now once more notice the sufferings of that most respectable and numerous body of men, the mechanics of the County and City of Philadelphia, employed in various branches of the manufacture of iron, namely, as steam-engine makers, anchor and chain smiths, machinists, founders, hardware manufacturers, edge-tool makers, locksmiths, whitesmiths, and blacksmiths." Their memorial, of which you have made honorable mention, and which was published in your paper, should be read by all who abhor oppression, and advocate Free Trade. It is, indeed, a most lucid and sensible document, and comprehensive exposition of their grievances, written in the most modest and unassuming tone, dictated by a proper and becoming spirit. Such a petition required the most serious and respectful consideration, and to be followed up by immediate relief to the petitioners, who fairly represented their own sentiments and those of their brother mechanics. These respectable citizens, it is to be hoped, will not be trifled with; they will no longer temporize, but demand as a right what has been denied as a favor. If they do not assist in destroying the Tariff monster, it will destroy them. Let them unite their strength with their brother mechanics throughout the United States; make it a common cause; appoint Delegates, and fix on an eligible situation for a general meeting or Convention.

In the darkest ages of bigotry and despotism, men have sought a redress of grievances from their princes, and have not petitioned in vain! The mighty Autocrat of Russia is in the habit of receiving petitions from the most humble of his subjects, and administers justice to the suffering Russian. But, in this great Republic, we have before us a most extraordinary instance of justice being refused to an immense number of enlightened mechanics, from whose ingenuity and industry we are supplied with such articles as are wanted in war—in the peaceable pursuits of husbandry—and in every department of civilized life. The majority in Congress are glad to profit by the honest labor and inventive genius of these hard-working

republicans, and yet refuse to repeal the duty on iron, to enable them to carry on their trades to advantage. You have spoken in merited terms of approbation of the mechanics of Philadelphia. I sincerely believe there does not exist in the world a more honest, intelligent, and obliging body of men. They have sufficient spirit to resent injuries, and are too independent to be sacrificed, by the Tariff party, to an abominable system of monopoly.

The contracted and selfish policy of foreign nations ought not to serve as an example for the people of the United States, who profess to practice liberal principles. No nation can be considered as strictly free, which suffers the Government to make invidious distinctions, by taxing millions of people to lay the foundation of overgrown fortunes for a few manufacturers, and sugar planters, as well as proprietors of salt works, and lordly owners of iron mines. The advocates of the American System, in order to reconcile their followers to their doctrine, have frequently introduced Washington, Hamilton, and Jefferson—names dear to liberty. Those illustrious men were always opposed to a high Tariff; and Mr. Jefferson carried his opposition so far to manufactories, that he expressed his wish to confine them to Europe. As his opinions may not be generally known, I will here quote his own words. “Those who labor in the earth are the chosen people of God, if ever he had a chosen people, whose breasts he has made his peculiar deposit for substantial and genuine virtue.” Again he says, “While we have land to labor, then, let us never wish to see our citizens occupied at a work-bench, or twirling a distaff. Carpenters, masons, smiths, are wanting in husbandry; for the general operations of manufactures, let workshops remain in Europe. It is better to carry materials and provisions to workmen there, than bring them to the provisions and materials, and with them their manners and principles. The loss by the transportation of commodities across the Atlantic, will be made up in happiness and permanence of Government. The mobs of great cities add just so much to the support of pure Government, as sores do to the strength of the human body. It is the manners and spirit of a people which preserve a Republic in vigor. A degeneracy in these is a canker which soon eats to the heart of its laws and Constitution.” I have been thus particular in giving Mr. Jefferson’s real opinions on a subject which excites such general interest. He considered a manufacturing life as prejudicial both to health and morals. The opinions of this great statesman and favorite of the people entitle them to respect. I shall take my leave of

you for the present, in hopes of renewing our correspondence at no distant period, and bringing more intimately to the view of the people the evils arising from the Restrictive System. Wishing you all success,

I remain, your obedient servant,

HERMANN.

SOUTH CAROLINA, April 16, 1831.

Dear Sir : Under the Administration of Washington, it was the pride and boast of the people of the United States, that they enjoyed a Constitution and form of Government based on the solid principles of freedom and justice, and so perfectly adapted to the security of their rights as to afford no cause of apprehension for themselves or their posterity. The pure republican doctrines of men who had emerged triumphantly from the perils of the Revolution, were strengthened by conscious integrity and patriotism, and remained unadulterated by any of the new-fangled precepts which are to teach our honest farmers how much more profitable it is for them to twirl the spinning wheel than to improve their land, or to clear the forest. The march of intellect, and the rapid progress of civilization, will burst asunder the fetters which tyranny and prejudice would fain rivet on freemen, where liberty is sacred, and where the life and property of the citizen is under the safeguard of equitable laws. Let us rejoice that the period is not very distant, when every man in the United States, however humble his station, will be sufficiently enlightened to judge when his rights are invaded, and to form a correct opinion of all those legislative acts which infringe them. On every subject involving the political welfare of the nation, the people have a right to expect from their Representatives a deliberate and dignified discussion, free from party rancor and selfish considerations, never forgetting that the public should be preferred to private interest; and, it would be desirable, if all legislators were admonished by the declaration, that "liberty is the power which belongs to a man of doing every thing which does not hurt the rights of another." Its principle is nature: its rule justice: its protection the law; and its moral limits are defined by that maxim, "Do not to another what you would not wish done to yourself." In the transaction of public business by legislative bodies, it would be a great

consolation if their deliberations could always be conducted in a spirit of amity and candor, and their measures adopted by the rule of justice and impartiality. Public characters are so often influenced by ambition to obtain power, and their feelings so frequently sported with by the factious and insidious, that it is difficult for them, on all occasions, to exhibit such an unblemished line of conduct as to place their political integrity above suspicion. I will not, however, dwell any longer on a theme that might lead you to think I am attempting a treatise on Government: I will leave that to wiser heads, and resume the subject of my last communication, and, in the language of the poet, I would say,

“For forms of Government let fools contest,

“Whate’er is best administered is best.”

As to what relates to the immediate administration of the Government of the United States, by our worthy Chief Magistrate, every reasonable and unprejudiced man will candidly acknowledge that he has given general satisfaction to the advocates of Free Trade. In all which regards our foreign relations, and our domestic concerns, he has acted with fairness, promptitude, and decision. Has he not, by his memorable *veto*, put a check to a wasteful expenditure of the public treasure? Has not the judicious appointment of Mr. McLane been followed up by the opening of the British West India ports to the commerce of the United States, and by which the patriotic States of New Hampshire and Maine are now reaping a rich harvest? Are not the Treaties with Denmark and Austria proofs of his wisdom? Is he not anxious that the National Debt shall be paid off with all possible despatch? Are not the Indian Affairs, under his prudent and judicious management, in a fair train of adjustment? And, lastly, has he not shown his noble independence, in defiance of the most execrable spirit of party, by recommending Congress to modify the iniquitous Tariff, with a view of relieving the poor from the burdens of heavy duties on all the necessary articles of life?

It was with infinite satisfaction that I read in the Banner, of the 16th of March, the able Report on the Blacksmiths’ Petition, submitted to the Senate by that highly estimable advocate of Free Trade, General Hayne. It contains much valuable information, and should be attentively perused by every citizen of this country, that he may see how shamefully burdened are the hard working and honest blacksmiths, by the enormous duty on iron, under this oppressive restrictive measure; and, to use the emphatic language of

the Report, a "system artfully contrived to make the rich richer," while it humbles, in the very dust, the best hopes of those whose "hard hands and honest hearts entitle them to the grateful consideration of their country." You have paid a well-merited compliment to that ingenious and intelligent mechanic, Mr. Sarchet, whose extensive knowledge of his particular branch of business renders him a valuable acquisition to this country.

I was greatly pleased with your remarks on the situation of Pittsburgh, as contained in your paper of March the 30th. You have ably pointed out the evil effects of the duty on iron, as applied to the manufactures of that article, and I am truly astonished that the people of Pittsburgh have so patiently submitted to be the dupes of the "American System."

The champions of the Tariff have exercised a direful influence over Pennsylvania. That beautiful State, so rich in agricultural resources, with a large and enterprising population, needs not the aid of a monopolizing and grinding policy, to promote her prosperity. The distressed emigrant Irish deserve a better fate than to be lured into the unwholesome atmosphere of a manufactory, in a State abounding in fertile land, and watered by noble streams. The hardy Germans and their descendants have grown rich by farming, and know too well the value of the soil, to give up the plough for the loom. Who would not be an independent yeoman, in preference to a manufacturer? Sons of Hermann, as you value your health, your independence, and the moral welfare of yourselves and children, continue to be the worthy, laborious, and honest cultivators of the earth.

Some of the friends of the Prohibitory System have vainly held out the hope of making converts among the advocates of Free Trade. I would sooner expect to see a total revolution of all the laws of nature, than that a man of common sense, belonging to the Free Trade party, should be a proselyte of the American System. Despicable, indeed, must be that man, who would change his creed to be an advocate of injustice and oppression. Whenever bigotry and darkness prevail over light and reason, they may then promise success from their efforts. The advocates of the Tariff have never been able to advance a single argument, of any value, in support of their doctrine. The most overstrained reasoning, and preposterous calculations, have been brought forward. Theory, dogmatism, and the absurd laws of other countries, have been all reduced to chaos, and from which, nothing of any importance can be selected, to con-

vince us that the present Tariff Law is favorable to the interests of America. In the words of a popular writer, I would exclaim,

" Shall phrenzy and sophistry hope to prevail,

" When reason opposes her weight,

" When the welfare of millions is hung in the scale,

" And the balance yet trembles with fate ?"

I do not wish to impugn the motives of the champions of the Tariff. I am willing to allow them the credit of supposing they are engaged in a good cause; but I, nevertheless, am of opinion, that they labor under an infatuation which it behoves the people to remove, by all means in their power, if they value the peace of the United States, and wish to save them from disunion. In order to make the people better satisfied with the existing Tariff, they are repeatedly told that the Restrictive System is not abandoned by the Government of Great Britain and the Continental Powers; as if we, a free, sovereign, and independent people, are to be misguided by imitating the policy of other nations! As if we, who possess some hundred millions of acres, requiring cultivation, are to be placed in comparison with those European countries so often reduced to extreme misery by war and famine! The friends of the American System tell us of the wealth which Great Britain has derived from heavy duties for the purpose of revenue, and encouraging manufactures. Have they told us, at the same time, that Great Britain and Ireland are groaning under the pressure of an enormous National Debt, amounting to eight hundred millions sterling; of the wretchedness of the operatives in great manufacturing cities, and of the frequent disturbances produced by low wages, and the high price of bread? Have they told us of the innumerable paupers, inhabiting manufacturing towns, and the many thousand distressed objects who are left to pine in want and misery, and who, if they had the means of paying their passage, would cheerfully abandon their native land, and quit the servile drudgery of a manufactory, to seek an asylum in America, and benefit themselves, and the country, by their labor in cultivating the earth? Whenever the honest and intelligent working-men will take time to reason and reflect properly on the fallacy of what is erroneously termed the " American System," they will find, that, where one man has been made wealthy by it, at least one thousand will be impoverished. They will learn that high duties have a tendency to injure the laboring poor more than any other class of people, and, by loosening the moral obligations to support a law that distresses them, they will soon begin to despise it

as partial, unjust, and oppressive. Never have a people been more egregiously duped by flattering promises, than the grain and stock farmers. The wool-growers were to make their fortunes, and were induced, to their sorrow, to purchase large flocks of sheep. Ask all the ship-owners, and ship-wrights, what the "accursed" Tariff has done for them—ask nearly a hundred thousand workers in iron, and as many honest tars, how they have fared by the Tariff—and they will reply, that, while it makes them poor, it serves to pamper a host of revenue officers, clerks, and subordinate agents, and to enrich monopolizers and smugglers. High duties often defeat the very end they are intended to answer. As an instance of this, I will here beg leave to mention, from the most authentic source, that, in the year 1804, the English Government raised the duty on sugar twenty per cent.; previous to this, the revenue from the duty on that article amounted to £2,778,000—but they deservedly experienced a deficit of £241,000. The increased duty of twenty per cent. did not yield more than £2,537,000, instead of the sum of £3,330,000, as was expected.

May your efforts to promote the cause of "Free Trade," be crowned with success, and the "Banner of the Constitution" meet with that extensive encouragement it so justly merits, is the sincere wish of

Your obedient servant,

HERMANN.

CHARLESTON, April 30th, 1831.

Dear Sir: I lately read, with much satisfaction, some very sensible remarks, in the "Banner," of April the 6th, applicable to the State of Pennsylvania. You have truly remarked that "she has no direct interest in the Tariff policy at all equal to the injury sustained from the operation of it;" and your reasons in support of this assertion, I think, are sufficiently convincing to every unprejudiced mind. You have also alluded to the indefatigable exertions made use of to propagate the doctrines of Restriction, and have observed, that pamphlet after pamphlet was written and literally forced upon the people, against their wishes. I have travelled much through that beautiful and highly interesting State, which Providence has blessed with so many valuable resources as to render her perfectly indepen-

dent of any aid she can derive from the "American System," and I can vouch for the truth of your observation respecting the pains taken to disseminate Tariff principles—which, like rank weeds, may take root for a time, and pollute the soil, but must fall under the scythe of the husbandman, to make room for the cultivation of a crop congenial to the land, and adapted to the sustenance of man. The delusion cannot last; it will surely be destroyed by the good sense of the people: the prevailing darkness must be of short duration, and will, like a mist, be penetrated by the dazzling light of the sun. Your yeomanry are really too enlightened to be chained to the car of tyranny, and submit to have their interests governed by the "Bill of Abominations." It is a lamentable fact, that, in all ages, and under every form of Government, however liberal, there have existed a certain set of closet-politicians, or political theorists, who have overrated their talents, and conceited themselves capable of legislating for mankind, without possessing that useful practical knowledge of human nature, and of the people among whom they live, and of the resources of the country they inhabit, to enable them to form a correct idea of the peculiar habits and condition of their fellow-citizens. Whether moved by a spirit of arrogance, or laboring under infatuation, they bid defiance to public opinion, and intrude doctrines on the community which are not comprehended by the poorer classes; but, by dint of cabal and artifice, aided by fortuitous circumstances, they are ushered forth under legislative sanction, with the most plausible pretexts, to serve party purposes, and to strip the poor man of a portion of his hard earnings. Such has been the operation of the Tariff Law of 1828—the object of which is to protect manufactures, and establish a privileged order of men, at the expense of the enterprizing and laborious. How long this order of things will prevail, is not for me to determine. Power and riches are rapidly passing from the many to the few: the lordly proprietors of iron and salt works, the wealthy sugar planters, and the avaricious woollen and cotton manufacturers, form a monopoly and monied aristocracy. God grant that the friends of Freedom and Free Trade may soon awake from their apathy, and destroy the spell which has bound our country to a nefarious system! This can only be effected by a solemn appeal to the feelings and the good sense of the people, backed by a determination to resist injustice; and, when all reasonable remonstrances are unheeded and contemned, there is physical power enough in the United States to take as a right what is refused as a favor. It is infinitely more noble to resist than

tamely to submit to oppression. The few men in Congress, of distinguished talents, who advocate the Prohibitive System, seldom venture to meet their adversaries in fair and open argument, lest, in the freedom of debate, the truth might expose and defeat their crafty policy. The zeal of the friends of the Protecting System is totally misapplied, and cannot be too much condemned by a discerning public. A man who goes pledged, to the Seat of Government, to vote for a favorite measure, cannot be considered as a free agent. If he is sent by the *manufacturing interest solely*, he becomes the instrument of their creating—a puppet, to be put in motion at their will and pleasure—and, to adopt the playful and figurative words of a grave statesman, “a mere bob to the tail of the kite of the manufacturers.” There never was a time, since the Declaration of Independence, when so little necessity existed, as at this present moment, for heavy taxation, *direct* or *indirect*. In less than four years, the National Debt, amounting to thirty-nine millions of dollars, will be extinguished. Moderate duties on all the luxuries of life, or on such articles as are in common use only among the rich, would furnish an ample revenue. If direct taxes could be deemed more advisable, *then* custom-houses might be dispensed with, and our free ports would be crowded with richly-laden vessels from all parts of the world; American produce would rise in value, and American merchants would regain that high standing in society they are so deservedly entitled to, from their intelligence and enterprize. This, however, may not suit many of the ardent admirers of the American System, who have embarked largely in the purchase of manufacturing stock, and who expect to reap a golden harvest by aid of the Tariff. Hence, then, arises so great a display of eloquence and patriotic professions, at town-meetings, among some who wish to persuade the people that their motives are disinterested, when, in fact, they are prompted by avarice. Will the poor man submit to kiss the rod of his oppressors, and help to pamper their appetite for filthy lucre?—or must he learn to curtail his wants, in order to lessen the burden of indirect taxes? *If so*, he must make one woollen coat serve him, instead of two, during an inclement winter, and consume less sugar and salt in his family, in consideration of the high duty on those articles.

One of the reasons assigned by the friends of the American System, for the passage of the Tariff Bill, was the necessity of retaliating on the British Government for imposing heavy duties on our rice, wheat, and other grain. Many worthy farmers have been gulled by

this pretext ; but every man of common sense must, by this time, be convinced that the ostensible cause of passing the law was to protect manufactures, and to encourage internal improvements, by prodigally expending large sums of the public money, instead of paying off the National Debt with it. What honest man, then, can blame General Jackson for checking the extravagance of the Tariff party, by his *veto* ? There cannot be a stronger proof of the injustice of the Tariff Law, than the oppressive manner in which it operates against the trade of the Dutch, and many of the ports of Germany. We derive immense advantages from our commercial intercourse with Amsterdam, Antwerp, Bremen, Hamburg, Lubec, and other cities, where our produce is either admitted free of duty, or subject to the paltry tax of one per centum ; and, in return for their liberality, we tax their goods without mercy. Germans ! and descendants of Germans ! can you sanction this act of oppression ? Will you submit to be the slaves of a vile monopoly ? Can you consent to be excluded from all intercourse with Germany, the beautiful country of your nativity, and the land of your ancestors ? Will you suffer a few manufacturers and their political friends, (by whose agency they have been hoisted into office,) to debar you of free trade, and confine you to a home-market, and not permit you to benefit by a maritime commerce, for the disposal of your surplus produce ? Bow not to the Tariff yoke ! Do not disgrace the land of Hermann, or that of Washington ! Live as you ever have done, friends of freedom and liberal principles !—enemies to tyranny and oppressive taxation !

What good has the Tariff done ? is a question which issues from the mouths of many—What States have been enriched by it ? None ! but all have more or less suffered, *particularly the cotton-growing States*. Of the New England States, Maine and New Hampshire have openly and nobly declared their hostility to the Tariff : they have set a magnanimous example to their sister States. Kentucky has been cajoled into a support of the Restrictive System, by the prospect held out to her of growing rich by the manufacturing of cotton-bagging and cordage, and the culture of hemp. The people of that State have too much good sense to be made subservient to the views of a party, and they now begin to perceive that their true interest consists in preserving a friendly intercourse with the Southern States, which afford the best markets for their stock. Ohio—her near neighbor—contains an enterprizing and enlightened population, whose chief object, for many years, will be to direct their attention to agriculture, and profit by the fertility of the soil which a bountiful

Providence has bestowed. Ohio is not yet prepared to manufacture extensively, nor is it to her interest : the facility of communicating, by the Lakes, with Canada and New York, enables her to obtain an ample supply of every kind of manufactures at a cheap rate ; and high duties will always be inimical to her success in manufacturing, as they offer strong inducements to smuggle. Tempt but the avarice of the smuggler, and he will bid defiance to all law ; neither the fear of the dungeon, or chains, will daunt his desperate courage, or restrain his adventurous spirit.

It is with great satisfaction I have heard of your determination to transfer the Banner to your native city ; and I sincerely hope that you will be liberally supported by an enlightened public, and particularly by the mechanics—a great portion of whom, consisting of blacksmiths and shipwrights, are suffering from the evil effects of the Tariff.

I remain yours,

HERMANN:

PHILADELPHIA, *June 14th*, 1831:

Dear Sir : In my last communication to you, I ventured to express an opinion that neither Kentucky nor Ohio derived the least benefit from the present Tariff, and I think I will be supported by every impartial and honest politician in asserting that these States have no interest whatever in adhering to the present odious “American System,” and in submitting to be taxed heavily on the most necessary articles of life. Men of common sense need not be told that, to establish manufactories on a sure and permanent foundation, a considerable capital and surplus population are required, which these States do not fully possess ; admitting, however, the existence of both, what necessity can justify the Federal Government in imposing heavy duties on foreign goods, solely for the purpose of protecting manufacturers, and enabling them to prosper at the expense of commerce and agriculture ? This system of fraud, oppression, and injustice, would disgrace the most despotic countries of the world, and has been forced on the people of this Republic by intrigue and avarice. Unfortunately, the poor are deluded and imposed upon by a specious name, and have bestowed their aid in directing the withering hand of tyranny against their own rights and liberties. The advocates and champions of the Tariff, profiting by the apathy of their adver-

saries—the friends of Free Trade—succeeded in securing the confidence of persons unaccustomed to reason on the justice and injustice of the laws, or on the doubtful points of the constitutionality of them. To the independent yeomen, and the honest and industrious laborers, we must address ourselves, in the language of truth and sincerity, and tell them, in plain terms, that the existing Tariff Law was enacted, in 1828, in direct opposition to the spirit of the Constitution, and for the express purpose of establishing a monopoly, by protecting domestic manufactures, to effect which the poor must necessarily suffer, by paying more than the real value of almost every article they consume, to enrich the sugar planters, and the proprietors of iron mines, and salt works, as well as the woollen and cotton manufacturers. The influence of men of great wealth in the Eastern and Middle States, is made use of to keep up this system of taxation, and, having embarked large sums of money in manufacturing stock, their sole efforts are directed to their own advancement, and they care not for the agriculturists and the poor. Even our merchants, unable to stem the tide of prejudice and corruption, are fast degenerating into apathy. Where are the men to be found inheriting the principles of their Revolutionary ancestors? Where is the spirit that resisted the Stamp Act, and a paltry tax on tea? Can it be possible that the character of this land of liberty is so changed, and the people so degraded, as to submit to be the dupes of a system that, if persevered in, will eventually annihilate our foreign commerce, and render the United States contemptible both at home and abroad? Can it be possible that the patriots of Boston, and the other great cities, have abandoned the cause of Free Trade, and are unwilling to make an effort to defend their rights, and wipe from the face of the country the foul stain which has been stamped upon it by apostates to liberty? Will they barter the Republic for filthy lucre? Will they assist in oppressing the poor mariner and mechanic, and substitute looms and spinning-jennies for ships and ploughs? Will they arrest the progress of the unfortunate emigrant who has sought an asylum among us, and doom him to toil within the walls of a manufactory, instead of providing his steps to the forests of the South or the West, that he may be an independent cultivator of the soil, an honest freeholder, and lay up for his children a rich inheritance? Will they join in the hue and cry against him because he is a foreigner? Justice and humanity forbid it! It is really most ludicrous to notice the various opprobrious epithets which have been applied to the friends of Free Trade and liberal principles! They are stigmatized as for-

eigners and nullifiers. The highly respectable and industrious mechanics who twice petitioned Congress, and petitioned in vain, for a repeal of the duty on iron, have been upbraided, for their truly republican and honorable conduct, with being foreigners; but they have gained a glorious triumph over their opponents, for having vindicated the cause of Free Trade against oppression and injustice. The advocates of the Prohibitive System, when at a loss for sound reasoning to support their cause, have recourse to slander and low abuse. It is of no consequence to the world whether a man be born on the ocean or on the land, if he is a useful and virtuous member of the community. What more have we a right to expect? Who nobly devoted their lives and fortunes to aid in securing the independence of the United States, but foreigners, among whom are the illustrious names of La Fayette, Montgomery, St. Clair, Kosciusko, Steuben, De Kalb, Pulaski, and a host of others! Who are engaged in our manufactories and mines, and labor in making our canals, railroads, and other public works? Foreigners! Who were our ancestors? Foreigners! There is really something too illiberal and contracted, to be jealous of the merits of men, or refuse to acknowledge them, because they are foreigners. Genius is the property of mankind, and should be cherished by every civilized nation. The virtues of men are not to be fixed by geographical limits. He who labors to improve his adopted country, who devotes to her interests his time and talents, merits a civic crown, and ranks with the most favored of her native sons. The spirit of philanthropy shields from oppression the virtuous of all countries, without regard to local distinctions and sectional feelings. The term nullifier has been so hacknied, and so misapplied, as to be almost disregarded, and treated with derision. It is promiscuously applied, and little understood. The man who ventures to expose the folly and injustice of the "American System," is called a nullifier! If he is the advocate of Free Trade, a friend to the poor, and champion of their rights and liberties, he is still a nullifier! Such is the persecuting spirit of the violent supporters of the "bill of abominations," that a very few escape the tongue of malevolence. One among the few has indeed been peculiarly fortunate and favored. I allude to a highly amiable citizen of South Carolina, most justly distinguished for his integrity and talents. He has held the following language:

"That, as Congress has imposed the Tariff, then is our independence but a phantom!—then have the patriots of the Revolution toiled and bled in vain!—then would it be better for us to return to our

former colonial vassalage, when, if unjustly taxed, the burden was imposed without discrimination upon all our countrymen—when, if oppressed, our oppressors were not our representatives—when, if enslaved, we were not guilty of forging the chains ourselves with which our liberty was manacled.”

Had these truths been expressed by either of the two highly distinguished patriots, Governor Hamilton or General Hayne, they would have been villified with the grossest abuse, although nothing but perfect contempt could be shown for the foul and slanderous tongues from which it might emanate. It is with pride and pleasure I read, in the last number of the *Banner*, the able speech of the Hon. George McDuffie, delivered at a festival lately given to him by a numerous and respectable party of gentlemen in Charleston. It is a lucid and impartial exposition of the injurious effects of the Tariff, and particularly of its operation on the interests of the South. This eloquent address is replete with sound sense; it is the language of a true patriot, and should be read by every man in America. How long will the sordid spirit of gain continue to pervade this country, and blast the fair prospects of the people—subdue the fine feelings of the heart—and render a despotic and aspiring majority deaf to the complaints of their fellow-citizens! In the name of justice, reason, and common sense, I call on every honest and disinterested man, whose mind is uncorrupted, and whose talents are not perverted, to unite in destroying the Tariff monster, that he may no longer fatten on the vitals of the poor. To the good sense and feelings of the supporters of the Restrictive System, I appeal. Let them retract their errors, and generously make atonement by promoting the prosperity of the United States. If they value the peace of the Union—if they regard the ties of nature—if they have any wish to preserve the sanctity of the Constitution—let them pause and reflect, and abandon a measure which is productive of nothing but discord. I solemnly invoke the spirit of a Washington, a Hancock, and a Patrick Henry, to save this Republic from being sacrificed to despotism and anarchy! I solemnly warn the friends of the Tariff of the fatal consequences which must ensue, if they obstinately persist in their hostility to the cause of Free Trade. Let them take wisdom in their councils, and listen to the advice of those whose only wish can be to promote the general happiness of the people.

I am yours,

HERMANN.

PHILADELPHIA, *June 25th, 1831.*

Dear Sir : Not many days ago I was prompted by curiosity to visit the elegant store of Mr. Van Harlingen, in Chesnut Street, where I had an opportunity of viewing his assortment of goods ; but, what particularly attracted my attention, were the articles of German manufacture, consisting chiefly of beautiful damask napkins, muslins handsomely embroidered, and superfine Saxon cloths of various colors, and superbly wrought. These last are designed chiefly for table, chair, and sofa covers, and are, perhaps, unsurpassed by any goods of a similar description in the world. On quitting this fashionable and much-frequented store, I was naturally induced to reflect on the impolicy and injustice of the Tariff, which imposes high duties on these, as well as many other more useful articles, manufactured in Germany and Holland. I was led, by a former communication, to make a few cursory remarks on the commerce of those countries, and of the importance of it to the United States. The imports consisted chiefly of woollens, linens, and steel of the most superior quality, besides oznaburgs, cotton-bagging, Rhenish wine, gin, &c. &c., for which they took in exchange rice, cotton, tobacco, and other supplies of American produce. The merchandise from the United States has always been admitted into the German and Dutch ports on the most liberal terms, and I think I am correct in saying, never subject to a duty of more than one per centum ad valorem. Every facility to our trade has been afforded—every accommodation to our merchants has been granted—and many of our citizens, who have visited both Germany and Holland, have experienced friendship and hospitality ; in return for which, we have nearly destroyed all intercourse with the worthy people of those countries, by the operation of the most unjust and oppressive law which ever disgraced a free nation. Sir, it is high time that the honest Germans of Pennsylvania and the other States of the Union should know the truth. Every article of German and Dutch manufacture, under the present Tariff, is so shamefully and exorbitantly taxed, as to amount almost to prohibition. If we do not allow the Germans to trade with us on terms of reciprocity, they will cease to have any commercial intercourse with the people of the United States, and will consider them sordid and selfish, friends to despotism, and enemies of Free Trade and liberal principles.

The Southern States were beginning to feel the great benefit of the trade from the ports of Hamburg, Bremen, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Antwerp, when it was interrupted by the embargo, the war, and, the greatest curse of all, the Tariff. The port of Charleston was once enriched by the German trade; a great proportion of the crop of rice of South Carolina went to Germany, which will afford a great market for our cotton when the Tariff is repealed. This vile and odious policy, so erroneously termed the "American System," will exclude the hardy German emigrants from our soil, by destroying the trade and the most direct means of conveyance. We want their integrity and industry, which, to the United States, are more valuable than gold. Let them come as peaceable cultivators of the earth—should they come in thousands for many years hence, they would be but thinly scattered over a wilderness that yet remains to be cultivated; and, if improved by the hand of industry, is capable of sustaining more than one hundred millions of people. I would ask if this is not preferable to forcing prematurely manufactories on the nation. We must not lose the trade of Germany, and Holland, and of nearly all Europe, and be satisfied to toil for manufacturers at home, and submit to be taxed for their benefit, and the wealthy proprietors of sugar plantations, iron mines, and salt works.

Let us call on the Germans of Pennsylvania, and their descendants, to unite their strength and influence to destroy a corrupt system, which, like a canker-worm, is feeding on the fairest fruits of the land, and blasting the best prospects of the husbandman. Let the majority of Congress, if they wish to consult the general good, turn their attention to objects more worthy of their consideration, than depriving the honest blacksmith of a part of his hard earnings, by taxing heavily the iron of foreign countries, and obliging him to pay a high price for such as he can procure from the mines of the United States, much of which is of an inferior quality, and badly adapted to particular purposes to which it is applied. Added to this grievance, the poor man is made to pay more than the real value of his sugar, his salt, his cloth, and many of the necessities of life.

If the people are true to their own interests, they should, in future, elect no man to preside over the councils of the nation, who will support and sanction this system of extortion; they should choose their Representatives from among the friends of Free Trade, and not select the obsequious partisans of the manufacturers. More weighty and useful matters should claim the deliberations of Con-

gress, than the enactment of bills to fix a partial and onerous rate of indirect taxation; their time and thoughts should be occupied by making equitable and economical disbursements of the public money; in diminishing the public burdens; in preventing all useless expenditures of the public funds; in guarding against corruption and mal-practices in office; in rewarding real merit; in protecting the unfortunate; and, by all means in their power, aiding, not only the Indians, but the distressed emigrants of all nations, in seeking an asylum on the public lands, that there, by habits of industry, they may provide themselves and needy families with a subsistence. These are some of the sacred duties to which their time should be devoted. It is expected, by the nation, that they should act as the guardians of the rights of the people; and, by their example for morality and disinterested patriotism, prove to their constituents that they are worthy of the trust reposed in them. To preserve harmony, there must be mutual concessions, and, to effect this, faction must not predominate over the best feelings of the heart. The greatest triumph a man can gain, is over his own evil passions, and this is applicable to public as well as private life. During the session of Congress, there is too little magnanimity displayed, but too much recrimination and animosity, and which, in the heat of party debate, is frequently vented in words of defiance and abuse.

To return, however, to the subject of foreign commerce. It is much to be desired that the merchants of the United States would unite with all whose interests are connected with maritime affairs, and demand, as a right, that the existing arbitrary and unconstitutional Tariff Act should be repealed. Let them say to the Government, in the language of the French merchants, "*Laissez nous faire*,"—and no longer tamely submit to be the victims of measures that are irrational, unnatural, and unjust. If they do not boldly combine with their oppressed fellow-citizens in all parts of the United States, to defeat the machinations of their political enemies, they are unworthy of being freemen, and must yield as the passive slaves of a system which will inevitably render them poor and despicable. Half-informed statesmen frequently betray gross ignorance in attempting to legislate about what they do not understand. A lawyer may make a distinguished figure at the bar, but fail in the counting-house to show himself a good merchant, and only expose his folly in interfering in what he has no knowledge of. Trade, like water, will find its level. Attempt not to interrupt its course—leave to the enterprise and experience of commercial men the best means they choose

to adopt for regulating their own concerns ; they are surely competent to act better for themselves and the public; than others can for them ; they, of course, ought to know how to employ commercial industry to the best advantage. It is truly absurd in Governments to embarrass trade, by prohibitive laws and oppressive exactions. No improper restraints should be imposed to check the career of the enterprising commercial spirit. Leave the merchant free to embark in whatever speculations he may deem most profitable, and to invest his capital in the manner most likely to conduce to his interest. Suffer him to go unrestricted to that sea or port where fortune guides him. Let him shape his course to the South Seas, to the Indian Ocean, to the Mediterranean, or to whatever part of the world he may find the most profitable market. It is the remark of an eminent writer, that, " the very circumstance of the existence of an active external commerce, no matter what agents it may be conducted by, is a very powerful stimulus to internal industry." The same author adds, " Commercial jealousy is, after all, nothing but prejudice—it is a wild fruit, that will drop of itself when it has arrived at maturity."

In this enlightened age, and in the advanced state of political power and prosperity of the United States, the people should be ever watchful of any attempt to encroach upon their rights. All laws passed for creating monopolies are inimical to the liberty of the citizen. Embargoes, privileged trading companies, and high duties, are not only derogatory to the character of a Republic, but injurious to the interests of the people. If the nations of Europe are willing to submit to this species of tyranny, God forbid that the American People should so degrade themselves as to follow the example !

I am, sir, yours,

HERMANN.

PHILADELPHIA, *July 12th, 1831.*

Dear Sir : The indefatigable exertions you are making to propagate liberal principles in favor of Free Trade, and to bring to the more immediate consideration of your readers the importance of the subject, gives you a strong claim on the gratitude of the public. The doctrines of political economy, so ably taught in the various colleges of the United States, have laid a solid foundation for the commercial prosperity of the people, which, I trust, the sophistry of

a futile theory will never subvert. The increasing spirit of hostility to the "American System" is the best proof of the progress they have already made towards effecting the downfall of the obnoxious Tariff. The diffusion of knowledge is undoubtedly the most certain means of teaching the people to feel the true nature of their independence, to reason with clearness and propriety, to discriminate between real and pretended friends, and to exercise the right of suffrage with a judgment unbiased by intrigue, or uninfluenced by corruption. We must chiefly rely on the freedom of the Press for an unreserved communication of much useful and valuable information relative to civil and political affairs; and in proportion to the purity of the morals of editors, and their respectability, we may expect to derive from them a faithful and impartial account of men and measures. The responsibility attached to their characters is of so sacred a nature that nothing should be submitted to the public which is not, to the best of their belief, founded on the strictest veracity. We are indebted to the Banner for the pleasing intelligence from your correspondents in Ohio, that the confidence of the inhabitants in the American System has greatly diminished. The agricultural resources of that rich and interesting State are immense—great wealth is yet in reserve for her, in addition to what she already enjoys. As her internal improvements advance, the products of the soil will increase in value, and the industry of her hardy and enterprising yeomanry will be amply rewarded. We have much to expect from the Editors of the Ohio papers from which you have made repeated extracts; their liberality and sound sense entitle them to the thanks of their fellow-citizens, as also their able vindication of the cause of Free Trade, and their decided opposition to the Tariff. Such zeal and independence are truly honorable to these worthy Editors, who have to contend against bitter prejudices. Let Ohio unite cordially with the Anti-Tariff States, and we shall have nothing to fear from the champions of the Tariff. Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, with the States of New Hampshire and Maine, have ineffectually demanded a repeal of the Tariff, or such a modification of it as might comport with their interests and wishes. In vain have their people petitioned. In vain have they attempted to be heard through their delegates. Unheeded are their complaints. Equally deaf to the voice of reason and justice, the enemies of Free Trade revel amidst the spoils of their triumphs. Intoxicated with success, they continue to taunt their adversaries, and assail them with abuse. Within the very walls of Congress the envenomed

tongue of malevolence has traduced the Southern people, who have been basely stigmatized as "unfeeling slave lashers, in league with England to oppose the honest manufacturers of the North." I will not disgust you with a repetition of vulgar and despicable observations. Attempts, however, are often made to excite discord between the North and the South by such disgraceful language, and to foment the differences which unhappily exist. Virginia, Georgia, Alabama, with their sister States, have not been spared: South Carolina has been singled out as a fit victim to glut the devouring appetite of the Tariff monster; her sons have been reviled as Disunionists and Nullifiers. She has espoused a righteous cause, and with justice on her side she will nobly maintain it. She will never be compelled to abandon it by empty threats and gasconade, or to forsake it, by artifice. The violent champions of the Tariff, more wily than wise, have persevered in their hostility to South Carolina, and denounced her for not yielding passive obedience to tyranny and injustice; they have essayed to fix an odium on her character by the most insidious attacks. It is always better to appease the Lion, than, by goading, provoke him to resistance. The artful distinction which the friends of the Restrictive System have attempted to make, by attributing solely to South Carolina certain principles, under the title of the "Carolina Doctrines,"* has failed to answer the purpose for which it was probably designed. South Carolina has not the vanity to claim what is common property. She is willing to divide the honor of opposing and exposing the evils of the American System with the Anti-Tariff States. If to defend the inviolability of the Constitution—to vindicate the cause of Free Trade—protect the rights of the citizen from encroachment—and resist Federal aggression, be considered an offence, then, indeed, has South Carolina greatly transgressed. If to insist upon enjoying the advantages of foreign commerce, free from the embarrassments and exactions imposed by legislative interference—to resist the corrupt influence of faction, and prevent the

* Any threat of coercion to put down these Doctrines, and the champions of them, must eventuate in the total destruction of the power and popularity of those who dare to make the experiment. If the attack should ever be attempted, the signal would be given to sound the tocsin of Revolution from Maine to Georgia. The military Hero who has been elevated to the first office of this Republic, was most ardently supported by the talents and chivalry of his native State, and the very men who now constitute the Free Trade Party, were his firm and undeviating friends. I sincerely hope he may never forfeit their good opinion, and give cause for the application of the maxim "*Ingrato homine terra pejus nil creat.*"

extravagant waste of public money, constitute any part of the Carolina Doctrines, then has she no reason to be ashamed of her conduct, but, on the contrary, to rejoice in the devotion of her sons to truth, honor, and justice. South Carolina has been accused of an intention to nullify an act of Congress. If it is criminal to pass an unconstitutional and oppressive law, why then is it a crime to declare it null and void, when the absurdity and injustice of the law is evident to every man of common sense, who will give himself time to reason and reflect. That a State has a right to nullify an act of Congress, under any circumstances, is extremely doubtful; but if a State is aggrieved by an oppressive and unconstitutional law of the Federal Government, the choice of two evils is left, which, in my opinion, she has a right to exercise: Resistance or secession from the Union. The common law of nature sanctions the first—the Federal Compact the other. If South Carolina did not cherish this compact—if she was not sincerely attached to the Union, she would not so strenuously oppose the Tariff on the ground of its unconstitutionality. Each State is sovereign and independent, and is only bound by a moral obligation to submit to the laws of Congress, provided they are based on equity. Carolina has no inclination to separate from the Union, unless compelled by oppression, and the Federal Government cannot prevent her from peaceably withdrawing. The distinguished and very sensible author of the Crisis has justly remarked—"If there be in our system of government one feature which is delightful for the real patriot to contemplate, it is that which shows the inability of the Government to coerce one of its confederated members. If friendship cannot hold us together, force never can. He is much mistaken who can imagine that the same physical force which could enable the Government to put down one of the twenty-four Republics, would not so endanger the whole as to make our Government any thing than what it now is." Let us hope that those States which still adhere to the Tariff, yielding to the force and circumstances of the times, will relinquish their support of it, and unite in promoting harmony. A single State detached from the Union, would be productive of unhappiness to all; the example would probably be followed by others. Such a desperate step could only be the dernier resort of a people to whom justice is denied. To bear and forbear, forms part of the Christian doctrine: this, however, may be carried too far with high-spirited and enlightened freemen. It matters not whether persecution proceeds from the iron grasp of an Autocrat or an Oligarchy, or emanates from the corrupt influence of a Democracy—the effect

is still the same; and the pressure is felt with equal force by the people, until the day of retribution arrives, to demand a fearful reckoning with their oppressors. Nothing is wanting to secure the prosperity of the United States, and the peace and happiness of the people, but mutual concession and conciliatory feelings. Let recrimination cease. Let animosities and narrow prejudices be abandoned, and the very recollection of them buried in oblivion—without which the Union can never be safe.

I remain yours,

HERMANN.

PHILADELPHIA, *August 10th*, 1831.

Dear Sir: To the successful and extensive propagation of the liberal principles of Political Economy through the Banner, and many highly respectable daily papers, we may confidently look forward to a speedy termination of the "American System." With the extinction of the present Tariff, the cause of Free Trade will acquire additional strength; for prejudice and ignorance are rapidly yielding to reason and common sense. I cannot be persuaded that the character of the nation is so sunk, and the patriotic spirit of the people so tame, as to be made much longer subservient to the Restrictive System. We live in an age distinguished by the progress of intellectual worth; and to foster a policy adverse to the beneficent views of Providence, and the welfare of mankind, would be characteristic of the dark times of imperial despotism and superstition. To abandon the practical and substantial advantages of foreign commerce, for the selfish principles of the Restrictive System, is to retrograde from the path of civilization, and to exchange light for darkness. The Tariff, under all existing circumstances, and with the vast natural resources of the United States, is perfectly injurious, if not ruinous, to the great agricultural and commercial interests. It is an anti-republican measure of the most disgraceful character. No language is too strong to express our abhorrence of it; it needs only to be unmasked and stripped of its loathsome deformity, to call forth the execration of every disinterested man. A very distinguished scholar* of South Carolina, on a recent public occasion, thus emphatically expressed his opinion of it:

* Hugh S. Legare, Esq.

“I can never sufficiently deplore the infatuation which has brought such a scourge on this favored land, which has entailed (so to speak) the curse of an original sin upon a new world, and upon the continual multiplying millions which are to inhabit it.”

The Tariff is suffered to exist in defiance of the most undeniable truths which have ever been evinced in a righteous cause, and every axiom that can be produced in favor of Free Trade. It is a political quackery of the worst sort, and opposed to doctrines taught by men of the most profound learning of every age and country, and in direct hostility to the most lucid philosophical maxims which can possibly originate from such highly-gifted minds as those of a Fenelon and a Dugald Stewart. Nothing is spared, by the present system of indirect taxation, which contributes to the comfort of man; it taxes the necessaries of life, and, consequently, most seriously affects the industrious poor; the very implements of husbandry, and the small invoices of goods brought by the unfortunate emigrant from Europe, come within reach of its detestable power. It would be a glorious era in the history of the United States, if, on the repeal of the Tariff, every port could be thrown open and declared free to the trade of the world, and every custom-house converted into a ware-house. This would be a decided republican measure, although not immediately suited to the interest of Government. The people have no objection to moderate duties for the purpose of revenue, but will never yield obedience to a libertine policy, which subjects them to many privations, and taxes them exorbitantly for the protection of manufactures.

A very popular and sensible French writer remarks, that “Excessive taxation is a kind of suicide, whether laid on objects of necessity or upon those of luxury; but there is this distinction, that, in the latter case, it extinguishes only a portion of the products on which it falls, together with the gratification they are calculated to afford—while, in the former, it extinguishes both production and consumption, and the tax-payer himself into the bargain.” The products of the soil, with land and labor, must necessarily depreciate under the existing Tariff Law; and, in proportion to the number of laborers diverted from agriculture to manufactures, will the loss be felt by the land owners. Every man of common sense must know, that, whatever measures have a tendency to embarrass trade will lessen the demand for land and produce, and, by checking the spirit of emigration, deprive us of the class of people we most need, *the cultivators of the earth*. Is it, then, to be wondered at, that the producers, whether of cotton, rice, wheat, or tobacco, are impoverished

by the Tariff? Is it to be wondered at, that the Southern planters complain and demand justice? Is it a matter of surprise, that the consumers, and more particularly the industrious laboring poor among them, are beginning to inquire why they are so extravagantly taxed to uphold a shameful system of monopoly? It is the "*auri sacra fames*," which has influenced the champions of the Tariff. This is not a mere question of pounds, shillings, and pence—it is not a sordid calculation, altogether, of the value of manufactured goods, or of the products of the soil; but a question involving the most serious and important principles of legislation and constitutional rights. Are the people willing to lose a valuable foreign trade, in order to enrich a set of monopolizers? Are they prepared to exchange a life of independence for a state of vassalage, and become the pliant tools of a monied aristocracy? Are they disposed to see the efforts of genius paralyzed, and the principles of philanthropy undermined?

The time must speedily arrive, when the people will no longer be ensnared by the empty name of "American System." This fallacy will, I trust, be soon condemned to merited disgrace, and to eternal oblivion. The people of this great Republic are, I should hope, too wise, too generous, and brave, not to prefer union, liberty, and harmony, to the dreadful evils which the present Tariff will inevitably produce, if persevered in. Let us not despair, but look forward to unmeasured prosperity for the United States—let us not omit to turn our attention to the record of days past, when the guardian genius of Columbus, in directing him to the new world, decided on the future destiny of these States as an asylum for the persecuted and adventurous spirits of the old world. That island which gave birth to a Newton, a Locke, a Milton, and a Pope, was destined, by her misguided policy, to lose, not only the affection of her American subjects, but the vast and beautiful colonies which now so happily constitute the greatest Republic on the globe. Intellectual endowments were not confined to Albion; and true greatness, which is inseparable from virtue, was found inherent in a Penn, a Washington, and a Franklin. The same merciful Providence which regulates the destinies of men, determined that these illustrious characters should move in a sphere of usefulness, from which, by a combination of causes, the most glorious events have transpired. The arbitrary power of the mother country was productive of evils which brought about the American Revolution, and roused a spirit of resistance, from Maine to Georgia. The united eloquence and

valor of the Patriots of '76 not only secured Independence, but a Constitution unrivalled for wisdom. Commercial restrictions and taxation were part of the grievances which caused the Revolutionary struggle, and the loss of much precious blood.

We profess to advocate and practise liberal principles, and arrogantly present to the world our Republic as a model of perfection. We labor under a fatal delusion, and are insensible to our own follies. Why, then, should we arraign the conduct of European nations, and charge them with faults, when we are blind to our own? History gives a retrospective view of all the excesses which have ever been committed, for ages past, against the laws of God and man, and furnishes a minute account of wars and revolutions, and the horrors attendant on them. The nations of Europe have been contending, for centuries past, about commercial supremacy, and have seldom or never been at a loss for pretexts to wage war. Some monarchs, guided by a high sense of honor and justice, have anxiously sought to maintain peace—whilst others, regardless of the sufferings of their subjects, and the laws of neutrality, have outraged both, presuming on the right of conquest, to subjugate the weak and unoffending to their fell ambition and lawless sway.

Let us, if we would be happy and prosperous, shun the example of foreign Powers, whose sinister policy is exhibited in acts of extortion, in fraud, perjury, and corruption, in a prodigal expenditure of the public money, for the purpose of supporting large standing armies and immense navies, and to provide for court pensioners, and bestow sinecure places on political gamblers and favorites, devoid of talents and morality. Such is too often a true picture of despotic Governments. Nature has indeed been truly bountiful in the distribution of her favors to the United States, and we should be unworthy of her gifts if we did not fully appreciate them. What necessity can there be for forcing manufactures prematurely on the nation, and then taxing the people by exacting high duties for the protection of them? Commerce and agriculture have a prior and stronger claim on the industry of man; they are his natural pursuits. "We must necessarily be an agricultural people for more than a century to come." Are there not two hundred and twenty millions of acres of public lands now for sale, and wanting cultivation? Have we not innumerable lakes, bays, and rivers, which unite their waters to the ocean, and open a vast field for commercial enterprise? Shall we not then profit by the goodness of a wise and omnipotent Creator, by promoting a free and friendly intercourse

with the nations of the world, instead of sinfully thwarting His glorious intentions, by the most preposterous and unnatural legislative measures? The Anti-Tariff States have borne too long with the injustice of the Restrictive System. It is time for the people to act, and no longer submit to be the dupes of artifice and avarice. They must not be deterred by the foul tongue of calumny and imbecile threats, from doing justice to themselves, by insisting on a repeal of the Tariff, that Free Trade may be restored to the prosperity it enjoyed in the glorious days of Washington.

The laws of God and nature protect the injured. It is the duty of every good citizen to practise forbearance as long as possible, even under the operation of bad and oppressive laws, rather than disturb the peace of his country; but the patience of the most meek and passive dispositions may be exhausted, and submission become criminal, and resistance a virtue, when made in the cause of freedom and justice. Delay is dangerous—and the next session of Congress must not pass over without a repeal of the Tariff, (commonly called the “bill of abominations;”) and this alone can save the Union from civil commotion, restore freedom of trade, and confidence among the people.

I remain yours,

HERMANN.

A CONTINUATION

OF THE

LETTERS OF HERMANN,

AS PUBLISHED IN THE

BANNER OF THE CONSTITUTION.

LETTERS, &c.

[The first of the following letters was addressed to the Editor of the Philadelphia Gazette, who accompanied it with the following remarks.

“The communication of ‘HERMANN,’ in an adjoining column, is worthy of attention, breathing, as it does, that warm spirit of adherence to the integrity of the Constitution and the welfare of the country, which prevails no where in the Republic, (all misrepresentations to the contrary notwithstanding,) more vigorously than in the Southern States. We were almost tempted to omit the laudatory commencement of our correspondent’s article; but the privilege of garbling is a difficult task; and we should be loth to displace the tribute so justly paid to the gentleman who weekly unfurls the Banner of the Constitution. It is a matter of honest pride to us, that the Convention has given us the acquaintance and friendship of so many gentlemen of talent and character from various quarters of the Confederacy.”]

SOUTH CAROLINA, *October, 1831.*

Mr. Editor: I shall trespass on your patience but for a few moments, if only to assure you, sir, of the very favorable impression you have made on the minds of all the friends of Free Trade, by the very disinterested part you have taken, and the patriotic zeal with which you have conducted your valuable Gazette: the gratitude of the people is due to yourself, as well as to the worthy and talented Editor of the Banner of the Constitution, for the able and independent manner in which their rights and interests have been vindicated, whilst investigating and exposing the evils of the Tariff Laws, which have produced much excitement and angry feeling; but I will not impeach the motives of all the adversaries of Free Trade, and whatever difference of opinion may even exist among its friends as to the expediency of removing this sinister policy, (the Tariff of the government), I trust they have but one object in view, the welfare of

the Republic. In order to ensure success, we must act with energy and unanimity, and cherish the most perfect good will from a respect to our cause and our country.

It is not necessary merely to reduce the Tariff to arithmetical calculation to prove the injustice of the measure. My intention is not sordidly to count the cost of a bag of cotton—a bale of cloth—or a barrel of flour, or to compare the value of imports and exports, or the rates of duties for the last ten or twenty years, but to inquire by what right the majority of Congress has ventured to enact a law for the protection of manufactures to the injury of other branches of industry: this question involves a principle of legislation that requires the most serious consideration. I cannot conceive how a law can possibly be constitutional which fosters a particular interest, whilst, by its operation, the prosperity of agriculture and commerce is rapidly declining. The Constitution makes no express provision for the protection of manufactures. The Tariff is an evil, for which, to use the words of an eminent statesman, “there is but one effectual cure—an honest reduction of the duties to a fair system of revenue, adapted to the just and constitutional wants of Government—nothing short of this (adds he,) can restore to the country peace, harmony, and mutual affection.” Let every class of people act upon the good old republican doctrine, that of confiding in their own resources, guided by a spirit of enterprize and industry, without the officious aid of the Federal Government. The principles of Free Trade are founded on the immutable laws of truth, justice, and humanity, it was for these the immortal Patrick Henry, with all his impassioned eloquence, so nobly and successfully advocated—for these same principles Washington fought, and Warren and Montgomery bled. The Tariff is deeply injurious to the commercial and agricultural interests of every State of the Union, but more particularly to the Southern States, which can never prosper unless our commercial intercourse is left free and unembarrassed with foreign nations. I will here beg leave to introduce a short extract from a letter of an illustrious soldier of the Revolution, the venerable General Thomas Sumpter; who still lives, a noble monument of his country’s glory. I thank God, he lives to animate by his example his countrymen to vindicate the cause of State Rights and Free Trade! The letter was addressed to a highly respectable gentleman of South Carolina—and in reply to his correspondent he says:

“Sir, you ask ‘my views on the subjects which now agitate the minds of our people.’ Though I have long since retired from public

life, and given myself up entirely to pursuits more congenial with my age—still, as I have always deemed it the duty of every citizen of this Republic boldly to espouse one side or the other, of any question which may involve his rights and liberties, I will not withhold my sentiments from my fellow-citizens.

“For a long time I had taken little or no interest in the politics of the country; I never read the newspapers; I confidently depended on the ‘sense of the American People,’ but, sir, the cry of discontent has at length reached me, and I awake from the happiest dreams of the peace and prosperity of my country, *to curse the illusion.*”

“I do not seek the reason of so general a sentiment, in the natural avarice of the human heart, and believe, as some of our countrymen do, that it arises from the common disposition of Southern proprietors to screen their fortunes from public charges. No, sir, when we engaged in that struggle which promised to secure to us the enjoyment of unrestricted liberty, *we* had nothing to complain of; ours was the most favored colony; bounties were given for every produce, and foreign capitalists investing their money in it, rendered it more prosperous than any of the others. It was not interest that urged South Carolina to resist. Can she now have changed? She espoused the cause of her sister colonies, not through resentment for unmerited inflictions, but through *principle* and *philanthropy*. We thought that, in time, we might groan under the same oppression—and before the storm lowered upon us, we rose and dispersed it.”

“Under like circumstances *IT IS OUR DUTY TO RESIST*, and *theirs* to succour us.

“The overgrown power of the General Government may reduce us in a short period *to the most abject slavery*; but it is the noblest attribute of a rational being to foresee the *effects*, and suppress the *cause*.”

These, sir, are the words of a man whom we all delight to honor. They flow from the spirit of '76; from the voice of a friend in the hour of need; they are as a precious balm in the patriot's mind, and nerve his arm to the resistance of tyranny! Would to God, that the voice of the patriot Hancock could be heard from the tomb once more, pleading in defence of the injured liberties of his country; loud and deep would be his execrations of this iniquitous Tariff, which has been cruelly and artfully imposed on the American People, under the specious and erroneous, though dignified title of “American System.”

Mr. Editor, I will not close this communication without noticing the frequent repetition of words from high authority, that the " Union must be preserved !" Does not the poorest and most obscure citizen know that the Union can only be rendered safe by securing the integrity of the Constitution ? The preservation of the Union rests with a higher power than that of any man in this Republic, however great his political rank ; and whatever responsibility may attach to Congress, there yet remains an authority still *superior* !—the Sovereign People ! To them, in all cases of danger and difficulty, I would appeal for justice, and from them (alone, if necessary,) I would seek redress. They will never suffer the band which unites these States (cemented by the blood of our Revolutionary heroes) to be severed by avarice and discord. The Union is dear to us—we all love and cherish it—but when put in competition with life, liberty, and property, and the dearest rights of man, it is of no value: our reliance is placed on the sound sense and good feelings of the American People, who have been so ably and feelingly addressed by the members of the Free Trade Convention recently in session in Philadelphia.

Our enlightened and enterprising merchants have in vain presented memorial after memorial to Congress ; our laborious and intelligent mechanics have sought for relief, and their grievances have been disregarded, a deaf ear has been turned to their complaints ; the Blacksmiths of this city have twice petitioned without avail ; the recommendations of President Jackson to modify the Tariff have been treated with indifference bordering on contumely. Enlighten the minds of the People as to their true interests, by teaching them the principles of Free Trade—show them by facts how shamefully they are taxed, and the Tariff monster will soon fall, never to rise again in this free and happy land.

Yours, &c.

HERMANN.

SOUTH CAROLINA, *December 1st, 1831.*

Dear Sir: I presume it has not escaped your memory, that I have repeatedly expressed my surprise at the passive condition of Ohio and Kentucky, under the existing Tariff Law. These two great and interesting States are composed of an intelligent, enlightened, and industrious population, whose interest will very long confine them to agricultural pursuits; too independent, and impatient of servile confinement, they are not disposed to abandon the cultivation of their fertile soil, and the clearing of the forest, to toil at the loom and spinning wheel. What then can prompt the hardy yeomanry of the West to support a law which renders tributary to manufacturing avarice their labor and resources, so naturally allied to the free and unrestricted trade, which God and nature always designed should be left open, to gratify the wants of man with the least possible inconvenience, and without the unwise and imprudent interference of Government. An extremely well-written and plausible Address of the Tariff Convention, lately held in the city of New York, contains the most extraordinary doctrine ever maintained by sensible and well-informed men. The authors of this Address say, "as a municipal principle, there is no question of the great advantages of Free Trade. The United States, in their coasting trade and domestic exchanges, afford the most striking illustrations of them ever witnessed; but as between foreign nations, there is no Free Trade—there never was—there never can be; it would contravene the arrangements of Providence, which distribute mankind into different communities, separated originally by confusion of tongues, and prevented from all rushing together into the most favored latitudes, by local attachments and foreign antipathies, which are the germs of national preservation, by means of national emulation." Again, observe the writers of the Address, "the freest of Free Trade is, after all, but a chartered libertine."

We really scarcely know whether to smile or look grave, on reading these remarks, and are almost tempted to exclaim, in the language of the Poet, "*risum teneatis amici*"? That Free Trade may interfere with the ambitious views of the manufacturers, I can readily admit, but how it can possibly contravene the arrangements of Providence, is certainly a paradox I do not compre-

hend. What raised ancient Tyre to the very pinnacle of commercial prosperity but Free Trade? What gave Holland the rank she holds among nations? What has given respectability and wealth to the German cities of Bremen, Hamburg, Lubec, Dantzic, and the Belgic town of Antwerp? *Free Trade!* The ways of Providence are wise, beneficent, and just, and are intended to promote the welfare of mankind; they keep pace with the principles of Christianity, which inculcate among people of all nations peace, harmony, and good will. They teach us to cultivate an intercourse with the human race, for the purpose of not only mitigating their miseries, but improving their condition, and correcting "foreign antipathies;" and how can this be better accomplished than by a free and unfettered commerce with the nations of the globe, from which the greatest advantages arise, both to the arts and sciences. It is the duty of the Government of every free nation to afford all possible facility to foreign trade, the blessings of which are of incalculable value. Commerce tends to promote civilization, to bring the people of the various countries of the world to reciprocate good offices; to exchange, on terms of reciprocity, the products of the soil, and all such articles as are required to supply the wants of man, both as to the necessities and luxuries of life, and, by imparting a knowledge of languages, to remove from the whole human family prejudices and animosities which are characteristics of the dark ages, and disgrace the most savage and untutored tribes.

The phrase of "chartered libertine," would be infinitely more applicable to the present Tariff than to Free Trade—for it originated in a selfish monopolizing spirit, forced upon the people under the most delusive and meretricious form, by plundering, under the authority and corrupt influence of a law, the poor, and enriching the few at the expense of the many. Free Trade is sanctioned by the laws of God and nature; it is pure and undisguised—it benefits both rich and poor; aided by human enterprize and ingenuity, it distributes the most precious gifts throughout the Universe; and whilst it rewards the merchant and hardy mariner, it amply repays the husbandman for his labor, and opens a ready market to all classes of mechanics and manufacturers, for their wares and merchandise.

It is stated in the Address that "aversion to the manufactures has engendered, of late, bitter local prejudices, in parts of those

States in which they do not flourish." There does not exist any spirit of hostility to manufactures, it is solely directed against the Tariff: let the manufacturers be satisfied to confide in their own resources, without the aid of the Government, and they will secure the support and good wishes of the Southern States. No man "spurns the golden fleece of his own soil," but every man of spirit and common sense should spurn the hand of the oppressor, and resent the wrongs imposed on his country. The Address, though replete with talent and ingenuity, cannot make a convert to "the American System," and must give increased confidence to the friends of Free Trade.

Providence is ever propitious to the efforts of those who seek not to derange the order of the creation—the organization of which is so perfect under the Divine wisdom, and, if left to the natural course of events, and the gradual work of time—would fulfil all that could be desired by the most righteous, without any regard to the distribution of mankind into different communities, and their original separation by "confusion of tongues." When men deviate from the path of rectitude, and violate the most sacred compacts by usurpations of power, and, by flagrant acts of injustice and perfidy, attempt to oppress the poor, and fail to complete their schemes of aggrandizement and insatiable avarice, they become too prone to lay the fault to Providence, instead of their own guilt; and are never at a loss for pretexts to justify their conduct.

Under the pretence of regulating commerce, Congress has violated the Constitution, by imposing the most oppressive and exorbitant duties on the useful and necessary articles of life, to give protection to manufactures, and rear up a dangerous influence, and an overgrown monied aristocracy—equally injurious to the peace of the Union and the rights of freemen! if the people delay any longer to shake off this thralldom of the mis-called American System, if they do not fearlessly resist these acts of oppression and rapacity, they will (to use the language of an able political writer) be taxed more and more to support increasing burdens: and the extortion of such taxes will rivet the poverty and ignorance, through which alone these burdens are endured. It is thus that the tyranny of the rulers, and the degradation of the people, must keep equal pace. It is thus that despotism forms a natural alliance with ignorance; blasts every charm of rational nature, and blunts every feeling of the human heart. There is,

indeed, a point at which the oppression of the most abject becomes no longer safe. The principles from which the present Tariff law derives its support, are at variance with truth, honor, and justice; they wage war against common sense and humanity, and even set at defiance the maxims of the Christian Religion. We need not a lawyer, or a judge, to interpret the Constitution for us—the merest Tyro who reads, may understand it, and learn that there is no power granted by it to tax the people *unequally, unequitably*, and without their consent. The American People ought not to suffer themselves to be misled by the pernicious and corrupt policy of foreign governments—let us borrow all which is good from them, and only imitate their examples when their success is gained by wisdom and virtue. Let us not be the dupes of men who adopt stratagem to advance their favorite measure, who oppose to the lucid and incontestable precepts of eminent political economists, the sophistry of false philosophy, and endeavor to support their opinions by labored and intricate arithmetical calculations, which serve to perplex without convincing; and who obstinately reject facts and principles, either because they militate against their interests, or are unwilling to admit the validity of them. The advocates of the Restrictive System have vainly attempted to prove that our agriculture and commerce must flourish under this oppressive system of indirect taxation. I cannot persuade myself that they are serious in thinking they can maintain an argument so incongruous and weak. Teach the people of the great commercial and agricultural States a knowledge of the true principles of Free Trade, and this fallacious doctrine will be dispelled like the lurid mist before the brilliant light of the sun. Will the intelligent and patriotic people of Ohio and Kentucky consent to part with the substance for the shadow, and be made instrumental in bringing this free and happy Republic under the yoke of tyranny, by adopting a vile, selfish, Chinese policy, and rejecting the bountiful hand of Providence extended to lavish upon them all the most rich and choice commodities of foreign climes, in exchange (*yes, in fair and honest barter*) for the redundant products of their fertile and favored soil? Do not the industrious farmers know that, in proportion as the burden of indirect taxation is increased upon us, our lands and the products of the soil must greatly depreciate? It is sufficient to raise a revenue to answer the wants of the Government, by imposing moderate duties, so as not to infringe the Constitution and impoverish the people,

without excluding foreign commerce, and degrading the nation. We care not for heavy duties on wines, and the luxuries of the table; if the rich consume them, they can afford to pay for them. The people have a right to demand, in justice to themselves, and from a regard to the honor of their country, that the duty on sugar, salt, iron, coarse woollen and cotton goods, cotton bagging, hemp, books, maps, paintings, and many other articles, should be reduced to less than one-half the present rate. I repeat, that the Western States, particularly Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee, have no interest in supporting the present Tariff. It behooves them to sympathize with their Southern brethren, and put a termination to this licensed system of plunder. The States of Kentucky and Tennessee derive much wealth with their intercourse with the South. I hope, in a future communication, to furnish you with a particular account of the immense quantity of stock which has passed from the West into the States of South Carolina and Georgia, during the last eight months; and as the following statement, taken from a public journal, may be interesting, I herewith enclose it. The Saluda mountain turnpike is situated in a beautiful and romantic part of South Carolina, about fourteen miles from Buncomb, in North Carolina, and unrivalled by any part of the world for the salubrity of its climate. The stock driven through the Saluda turnpike for the last two years, was noted down in the toll book; the year is computed from the 1st of April to the 31st of March, inclusive.

	1830.	1831.	decrease.
Horses and mules,	4,866	3,293	1,573
Beef cattle,	2,335	1,790	1,445
Hogs and sheep,	29,884	26,551	3,333

Supposing the average value in 1830, to have been \$90 a head for horses and mules, \$20 a head for beeves, and \$7 a head for hogs—and the same for 1831, except that hogs might be averaged at \$8 a piece—the aggregate for the former year will be \$682,828, and for the latter \$544,578.

The raising of stock is of immense value to the Western States, and in proportion as the foreign trade of the South increases, and is restored to its original prosperity, *in the same ratio* will the West advance to wealth and importance. Be assured that no man feels a stronger attachment to every section of the Union, and is more desirous of seeing the Federal Compact preserved and restored to its primitive purity, than

Your Friend and Correspondent,

HERMANN.

SOUTH CAROLINA, *December 30, 1831.*

Dear Sir: At no period of the history of this great Federal Republic, since the Declaration of Independence, has an American Congress assembled to legislate on a subject which involves so deeply the sectional feelings and interests of the People of the United States, as the Tariff Law of 1828—theirs is a heavy and a fearful responsibility, and it remains to be seen and known, whether the termination of the session will be welcomed by millions of freemen for services rendered them, or be saluted with the bitter execration of every honest man who abhors tyranny and injustice. Let us hope that the deliberations of that body will be governed by the good old maxim of “*Salus Populi suprema est lex,*” and that, unembarrassed by sophistry and intrigue, they will calmly proceed in a straight forward course of honorable legislation, based on principles of equity, and guided by a spirit of conciliation. If the majority in Congress have any desire to preserve the Union of the States, and the kindred feelings which add great moral strength and respectability to that Union, they will not hesitate to repeal the Tariff, or modify it, to comport with the interests and wishes of the people, and to answer “the just and constitutional wants of the Government.” The Secretary of the Treasury, in his late and able Report, has well remarked, “that extreme measures adopted by slender majorities, and obnoxious to the interests and opinions of minorities, powerful in numbers, wealth and intelligence, cannot be persevered in without danger to the general harmony, and without undermining the moral power, not merely of the Executive and Legislative Departments, but also that of the Judiciary which may be called to sustain the authority, without the option of deciding on the expediency of the measure.”

The President is not ignorant of the perilous and critical situation of the Union, and I will do him the justice to say, that I believe he is sincerely desirous of reconciling the conflicting interests of the Northern and Southern States, and he has evinced this disposition, by recommending a modification of the Tariff, as the surest means of removing all cause of discontent.

No harm can arise from heavy imposts on mere luxuries of the table, such as are in general use among the rich—but on all articles consumed by the poor, *more particuilarly* iron, salt, sugar, hemp,

cotton and woollen goods, the duties should be reduced to at least one-half of their present rates. All pretext for persevering in the Restrictive System is at an end. The National Debt (if the plan recommended by the Secretary of the Treasury be adopted) will speedily be extinct. The Public Lands are rapidly increasing in value, and great sums will be derived from the sale of them. Can it be from apathy, ignorance, or fear, that the People have submitted so tamely to an unjust and unequal system of indirect taxation? Do they claim to be freemen, and boast of their chartered rights? Among the enlightened, these motives do not exist. The champions of the American System may gain proselytes by working on the prejudices and passions of weak minds, and tempting the avarice of the sordid and uninformed; their pseudo philosophy must vanish like the "baseless fabric of a vision," when opposed by the lucid and solid principles of Free Trade. The Restrictive System is a compound of fraud, corruption, and oppression. It is the genuine offspring of monopoly, reared by a monied aristocracy, and cherished for the support of a favored few. It is a system worthy of the dark ages of bigotry and feudalism.

The doctrine of Free Trade advances rapidly with the march of Intellect, and keeps pace with the progress of Christianity. The same Providence which directs the steps of the pious pilgrim, ordains that Nations (without regard to geographical distinctions and dissimilarity of language) should do all possible good to each other: the principles of Christianity impose it on them as a sacred duty; these same principles, like a mandate from the Supreme Director of the Universe, enjoin mankind to practice forbearance and mutual concession, and has created the ocean as a great highway, whereby the people of each quarter of the globe may exchange, on terms of reciprocity, the natural products of the soil, and the works of human ingenuity and labor. According to an eminent and much admired author, "the more extended and the more constant intercourse, which the improvements in commerce and the art of navigation have opened among the distant quarters of the globe, cannot fail to operate in undermining local and national prejudices, and imparting to the whole species the intellectual acquisitions of each particular community."

It would be needless for me to enumerate all the great writers on Political Economy whose works are so familiar to you. They have dwelt with force and perspicuity on the blessings derived from

Free Trade, and have exposed the fallacy of that policy which the arbitrary and corrupt Governments of Europe have adopted to fill an exhausted treasury ; they have clearly pointed out the many evils which result from laws imposing burdens on the people by exacting exorbitant duties on all such articles as they are most in want of, and have proved, by sound incontestable reasoning, the imbecility of measures (no matter under what plausible title they are disguised) which frustrate the wise arrangements of Providence, by deranging the natural course of trade, perplexing the merchant, and creating embarrassments, which, whilst they implicate the character of the Government, produce a most injurious and paralyzing effect on the various branches of labor connected both with agriculture and commerce.

I am yours, &c.

HERMANN.

SOUTH CAROLINA, *February 27th*, 1832.

My Dear Sir : I hasten to give you the intelligence that the spirit which has so long existed in South Carolina, in opposition to the Tariff, is daily acquiring strength, and I trust that there will shortly be but one opinion on the subject of our grievances, and of the necessity of fearlessly resisting the usurpations of the Federal Government. What surprises me, is; that so many disinterested, amiable, and intelligent men, should be found, in the Northern States, advocating a system of commercial restriction, and building their faith on the speculative opinions of visionary experimentalists, or siding with men whose eager desire to acquire wealth induces them to sacrifice the best feelings of their nature, and disregard the moral precepts of the Christian Religion. It is much to be lamented, that the worthy and independent yeomanry of your beautiful State should sanction measures which owe their origin to the corrupt policy of Asiatic and European despotism—a policy which can only be compared to the pestilential blast of the Syrian Sirocco, that withers the fairest fruits of the earth—a policy at variance with the laws of God and nature. Have the honest and industrious German farmers so soon forgot the good old German maxim of “*Die Handelschaft ist des reichthums mutter*?”—[Trade is the mother of wealth]—

and do they not know that, as long as they are tributary to the present Tariff Law, they will be at the mercy of the manufacturers? their lands and produce must depreciate, and their wealth will, of course, be greatly diminished, with the extinction of foreign trade. Should the Tariff be persevered in, and the protecting duties on all the useful and necessary articles be retained and submitted to by the North, then I solemnly aver that the Union cannot last. At the South, we will no longer submit to be oppressed. Sir, the crisis has arrived, when Congress must not be deaf to our remonstrances. We are inspired with confidence, by confiding in a righteous cause. We shall trust to our own energies, in hopes of more prosperous days.

We are daily becoming more and more united at the South. We cling to the Constitution as to the ark of our political salvation. Our motto is, "*Semper paratus et semper fidelis*."—Rather than wear the accursed Tariff-yoke much longer, we will *resist*. Believe me, sir, this is no empty gasconade. *For my own part*, so sacred do I consider the cause of Free Trade, that I am willing to go with my friends in good or evil fortune; come what may, I will never abandon them; our honour is pledged; we must not retreat—that would be a *dastard's part*. I cannot yet persuade myself that there are men so silly, so wicked, and so *heartless*, as to sacrifice the peace of the Union, and, by persisting in error, drive the people of the South to desperation; but when the trial comes, we will meet it like men should do when opposed to tyranny and injustice—and we will not disgrace our ancestors. The smiles of our patriot Fair, with more than Spartan-virtue and Spartan heroism, will bless our efforts; the spirits of our departed patriots of the Revolution will consecrate our Free Trade Banner, and lead us on to triumph.

I will now close this brief communication by assuring you that there can be no stronger proof of the ardent and sincere feeling of the people of this State, in favor of Free Trade, than what has been manifested by their representatives, in the Convention which closed on Saturday the 25th. The Chief Magistrate of South Carolina presided, with all that dignity and urbanity so characteristic of a refined gentleman. It was to me a triumph of feeling I did not expect to enjoy, to have an opportunity of beholding so numerous and highly distinguished a body of Delegates, from all parts of the State—from the mountains to the seaboard. Our upper country is full of chivalry and talent. Col. Preston spoke with all the dignity and eloquence of a Cicero: his language is classical—his manner is elegant.

and impressive—his oratory is of the highest order—and, when he became animated, he enraptured the feelings of his auditors; as much so as I can possibly conceive Patrick Henry must have done in his best days. The author of the *Crisis* expressed himself with all the impassioned feeling of a Brutus: he was extremely eloquent—his words are suited to his action, forcible and interesting—his style of speaking correct, and his elocution purely classical. I refer you to the *Mercury*, and *Free Trade Evening Post*, for a particular account of the proceedings of this Convention. I do not mean to flatter when I assert that I never remember to have seen, in any part of Europe or the United States, a more respectable assemblage of citizens; the most perfect decorum was observed; the number of persons collected was computed at three thousand; nearly one-half were ladies. The three venerable patriots of the Revolution, Sumter,* Hamilton, and Simons, were prevented from attending, by indisposition and their great age. These brave and virtuous men, in whose hearts the spirit of the year '76 is deeply implanted, (I thank God,) are spared, by a wise and merciful Providence, to animate the sons of Carolina to the resistance of tyranny. Did you ever know a Revolutionary patriot who was not an enemy to oppression, and an advocate of Free Trade? The same may be said of the most enlightened statesmen and the greatest moral writers of the age.

I am yours truly,

HERMANN.

SOUTH CAROLINA, *March 8th*, 1832.

Dear Sir: I must claim your indulgence for intruding on your notice a subject somewhat irrelevant to what I intended should have been the purport of this communication. I cannot, as a friend of Free Trade, patiently submit to the insidious and sarcastic attacks which have been directed by some of the champions of the American System against the vital interests of the South, by ascribing their impoverished condition to the evil effects of negro slavery, and the planting life, instead of an odious and oppressive Tariff Law.

It is easy to refute the fallacy of their remarks. A cause must be desperate when flimsy pretexts and mere surmise are its only sup-

* The illustrious Sumter died on the first of June, nearly a century old.

port; and it is really absurd to suppose, that the prosperity of the Southern States has declined from the great increase of the slave population; the prosperous situation of Havana and New Orleans are sufficient to prove the futility of such an observation. The slaves of those cities constitute the laboring class, and are by far the majority of the inhabitants. St. Petersburg, the great and wealthy metropolis of the most powerful nation on the globe, has a full share of them; and the serfs compose a great part of the population of the Russian Empire. Smyrna, which is the most considerable city of the Turkish Empire, abounds in slaves: according to the authority of Mr. Hobhouse, it continues to increase, and in 1809 was said to contain nearly a hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants; and he states that, previous to 1675, it had been partially destroyed six times by earthquakes. Smyrna is described as having a spacious and secure harbor, and surrounded by a fertile country; and yet, in spite of slavery, incursions of the sea, earthquakes, and annual visits of the plague, that city continues to prosper. The most formidable nations of antiquity were possessed of slaves. Was Rome less warlike, less rich and enlightened, because slavery was sanctioned by her laws? Did it impede the march of intellect? Or how could she have produced such men as a Pliny, a Tacitus, a Livy, a Horace, a Virgil and a Cicero. It did not interfere with the progress of the arts and sciences; which were so munificently patronized; or with her gigantic strides to power and conquest. Why blend the subject of negro slavery, at this particular juncture, with the Tariff, unless to hold it out as a bugbear, to alarm the weak and timid, and cause a division in favor of high duties, manufactories, monopolies, smuggling, and all the evils which this prolific American System has given birth to.

I regret that even in the good old State of Virginia, there are so many respectable and intelligent men who have depicted, in the most gloomy colors, the distress of the white population, and attributed it to negro slavery; but the truth is, the roving disposition of our people, their fondness of novelty, and a natural desire to benefit by a change of residence, have induced thousands to emigrate from Virginia and the Carolinas to the Western and South-western States. Not so with Georgia; which has increased more rapidly in population than any other State of the Union, (except New York); especially when we consider that not more than a century has elapsed since the landing of General Oglethorpe with the first settlers from England, and she now has a population of more than half a million

of souls. The States of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Alabama have been formed by emigrants, chiefly from Virginia and the Carolinas. The spirit of emigration still exists, and at this very time, numerous poor families, as well as planters owning from twenty to an hundred slaves, are moving to the South-west, to settle on more fertile lands than those they abandon.

In a country of such vast extent as the United States, and possessed of some hundred millions of acres of productive and uncultivated land, inducements to emigrants will continue for a century to come, particularly with the people of the South, whose occupations and habits are entirely opposed to the drudgery of a manufacturing life, and who seek competency, independence, and wealth, from commercial and agricultural pursuits.

As to any apprehension of a general insurrection of the negroes, there can be none ; partial disturbances may sometimes take place from a want of prudence, vigilance, and proper energy on the part of the white population. A half dozen of well armed and resolute men might have prevented the tragical affair of Southampton, when a fanatical negro monster, at the head of a ferocious banditti, destroyed many valuable lives. Negro slaves should be kept in strict subordination, but yet treated with great humanity ; and those persons who seek to effect their immediate emancipation are their worst enemies. This must be left to the gradual work of time ; a premature abolition would not only create general distress among the white inhabitants, but might eventuate in a total destruction of the negro race in the United States. Justice and humanity forbid it. Under the laws of the Southern States, negro slaves are considered as property ; and that man who would dare venture to deprive me of my property by force, I should consider as a personal enemy, and resist him at the hazard of my life. This subject has been most ably discussed by a very sensible writer, in the *Richmond Enquirer*, under the signature of Appamatox : he has taken a most correct and comprehensive view of it, sufficient to convince every impartial man of the danger, impolicy, and injustice of agitating the question of emancipation.

The Southern States do not complain of negro slavery, and desire no interference with their interests, which they are both willing and able to defend. I repeat that it is the Tariff which oppresses them, and they never can prosper until the Federal Government abandons that iniquitous system, which is rapidly exhausting their resources ; restricting our foreign commerce, and forcing our people from the

land of their nativity. Let the Federal Government restore to us the Free Trade System of the days of Washington, and give to us what God and nature intended we should enjoy, or the Union will be but a phantom, from which we can derive no good. Let us have the restoration of that unrestricted commerce, "to the influence of which," in the language of a distinguished writer,* "we owe that mild revolution, which banished the fierceness, the turbulence, the darkness, and the iron slavery of the feudal times; and substituted the social virtues, the lights of science, the liberal feelings, and the gentle subordination of FREEDOM."

If the violent advocates of high duties would but relax a little of their intractable spirit, and, yielding to the wishes of their Southern brethren, consent to such a reduction as would give us a Tariff not for the purpose of protecting manufactures, but solely for revenue, and to answer the moderate wants of the Government, then, indeed, would the value of the Union be placed beyond all calculation; we should hear no more of sectional jealousies; the intrigues of mercenary and evil-minded politicians; or the bickerings of malcontents: the halcyon days of a Washington would revive with the return of harmony; the only struggle between the North and the South would be which should do for the other the utmost possible good. Commerce, agriculture, and manufactures would prosper; the busy scenes of commercial life would animate and enrich every section of the United States; and greater facilities would be afforded to the poor and industrious emigrants from Europe to seek an asylum in a country which offers a vast field for their enterprise.

Your obedient servant,

HERMANN.†

SOUTH CAROLINA, *March 15th*, 1832.

Dear Sir: The voice of the people of the Anti-Tariff States urgently calls for a redress of their wrongs; it feelingly appeals to the good sense of their fellow-citizens, and solemnly invokes the Supreme Author of all Good to shield them from injustice and

* Robert Walsh.

† This communication was intended for the *Banner*, but the publication of it was omitted.

oppression. The friends of Free Trade await, with extreme solicitude, the result of the deliberations of the Federal Government on the Tariff. Although a great discrepancy of opinion prevails as to the expediency of reducing the duties on particular articles manufactured and produced in the United States, with a view to a revenue to meet the just and constitutional wants of the Government, yet all parties coincide in declaring the necessity of some modification. However great the obliquity which has been attempted to be cast on the friends of Free Trade, yet it is known, throughout this Republic, that they require nothing but what is just and reasonable. Their interests have been sacrificed to a selfish and sinister policy; they have borne the evils of the "American System," until patience is exhausted, and submission becomes almost criminal. I bewail the infatuation which exists among the most prominent champions of the Tariff, who insist on retaining the protective duties, and have evinced a desire to augment them. I will not use the language of reproach, but I admonish them not to disregard the murmurs of an indignant and aggrieved people. Those who know how to value the inestimable blessings of foreign commerce, will indeed be debased, if they do not fearlessly resist any further encroachment on their rights. Free Trade, like a pillar of light, will yet guide those who are enveloped in Tariff darkness, to a knowledge of their true interests. A restoration of foreign commerce, unembarrassed by heavy and vexatious imposts, would give an impulse to every branch of American industry. Agriculture, now suffering, would revive and prosper, attended by a general improvement in all the mechanic arts. It only requires to be released from the present unnatural and flagitious system, to have the commercial energies of the nation fully developed, and to witness the rapid advancement of navigation, with a return of more happy times to the inhabitants of our Southern towns.

An eminent writer on Political Economy* has, with truth, remarked, that, "under a system of perfectly free commerce, each country naturally devotes its capital and labor to such employments as are most beneficial to each. This pursuit of individual advantage is admirably connected with the universal good of the whole. By stimulating industry, by rewarding ingenuity, and by using most efficaciously the peculiar powers bestowed by nature, it distributes labor most effectively and most economically; while, by increasing the general

* David Ricardo.

mass of productions, it diffuses general benefit, and binds together, by one common tie of interest and intercourse, the universal society of nations throughout the civilized world."

How purely philanthropic and benevolent are these principles! How widely opposed to the miserable doctrines advanced in support of the Tariff, which has not a good feature to recommend it! It is strange that any section of this country should be so tamely submissive to the Restrictive System, and that any portion of the population should be so deluded as to conceive it beneficial to the general interests of the people of the United States. A Fenelon, a Franklin, a Dugald Stewart, were men of consummate virtue and erudition, and possessed of a perfect knowledge of mankind. They ably advocated the principles of Free Trade; they illustrated their doctrines with philosophical accuracy, which have been as much respected, to this day, as were ever the writings of Sir Isaac Newton. But it seems we have a new race of philosophers, sprung up since the days of Washington, who are determined to govern the good people of this Republic by *their* rules of arithmetic and morality.

Every disinterested and reflecting man must condemn the Tariff, as unjust and partial. Smuggling, fraud, and perjury, constitute its immorality; and, not the least of all the evils derived from it is the torch of discord which has been kindled among a people whose political salvation depends on union. These are incontestible facts, and should be universally promulgated. The complaints of the people of the Southern States have been too long unheeded and regarded as idle clamor, and their means of resistance treated with scorn; but calumny is the coward's weapon, and never more despicable than when turned against the virtuous and brave. The resources of the South have been much underrated. Fanatics and alarmists have endeavored to work on the feelings of the timid, in the slave-holding States, by an attempt to blend with the American System an improper and officious interference to regulate the condition of the negroes, for the purpose of diverting the white population from the evils of the Tariff. A vain and silly effort! The people of these States are fully capable of regulating their own affairs; they are neither deficient in moral or physical powers, and are powerful enough to crush domestic foes, and protect their rights and property from invasion. Blessed with a genial clime and fertile soil, they are chiefly instrumental in providing the Government with the means of conducting the fiscal concerns of the nation. It would, indeed, be the extreme of folly to expect the agricultural States to abandon all the blessings

of foreign commerce, and reject the gifts of a bounteous Providence, which has wisely ordered that nations, like men, shall be dependent on each other. The rich staples of the South, consisting principally of cotton, rice, and tobacco, are eagerly sought after for European markets, as they are superior in quality to similar products of other countries; and the preference will be given to the United States, from the facilities afforded to mercantile transactions by a liberal policy of Government. *Without this*, trade must necessarily dwindle into insignificance, and then farewell—a long farewell—to all our greatness.

It is useless, at this time, to enter into a detailed account of the distresses of the Southern States, occasioned by the Tariff; they are too notorious, and severely felt, to need a repetition. I cannot give a greater proof of the value of the trade of Europe, to the South, than by stating, that, out of a million of bales of cotton, Great Britain alone is a purchaser of six hundred thousand bags—(no mean customer, it must be granted.) Not less than two hundred thousand bags are annually exported to France and Germany. And, at the very extent, the home consumption, in every possible way, does not annually exceed two hundred thousand bags. Out of the crop of rice, amounting to about one hundred and thirty thousand tierces, at least forty thousand are annually exported to Germany and the Netherlands, twenty thousand to Great Britain, and as nearly as much to the ports of France; the trade of Cuba, which is of vast importance to the United States, takes off from sixteen to twenty thousand barrels annually. Of tobacco, supposing the crop of the United States to amount to eighty-five thousand hhds.—which I believe to be correct—Great Britain, Germany, and the Netherlands, take about an equal quantity, amounting, in all, to sixty thousand hhds.; leaving only twenty-five thousand to be shipped to other countries and for home consumption.

It is from these great and profitable markets that the champions of an oppressive Tariff wish to force the sons of the soil, and render them tributary to the lords of the loom and spinning-jenny. The combination could not have been successful at Harrisburg, without doing something to secure the co-operation of the sugar planters and the proprietors of iron mines; and, accordingly, heavy imposts have been levied on foreign sugar and iron. Even salt, so necessary to the health of man and beast, pays a tax of ten cents per bushel.

You have given, in one of your numbers of the Banner, (Volume

II, page 320,) an authentic table of the duties paid in Canada by the subjects of Great Britain. By this statement, it appears that the population of the Canadas are infinitely more favored than the people of the United States. The Canadian subjects of his Britannic Majesty pay a duty of only $2\frac{1}{2}$ per centum on cotton and woollen goods, the same on hardware ; hemp is free of duty, as well as salt, and sugar pays only one cent per pound. In the United States, we are taxed from 30 to 150 per centum on cotton goods, and 50 to 250 per cent. on woollens, hardware $27\frac{1}{2}$ per centum, hemp \$60 per ton, sugar 3 cents per pound.

It would, however, be superfluous to add any thing further on this subject, as many sensible and judicious remarks have recently been made on it by the estimable author of the Boston Memorial, in the fourth No. of his "Exposition of Evidence in support of the Memorial to Congress." This worthy patriot has disclosed, throughout his long and faithful services in the cause of Free Trade, an honest, fearless, and zealous spirit, worthy of the days of those illustrious men, Samuel Adams and John Hancock.

I am ever yours,

HERMANN.

SOUTH CAROLINA, *March 30th, 1832.*

Dear Sir : If any man had, twenty, or even ten, years ago, ventured to assert that the Federal Government would be justified, in a time of profound peace with the nations of the world, in maintaining a burdensome Tariff upon the people of the United States, to protect manufactures, I should have considered him as laboring under a strange delusion. The nation, however, is not only on amicable terms with Europe, but is nearly free of debt, and possessed of some hundred millions of acres* of land for sale. Yet such is the perverseness of human nature, that men, under all these favorable circumstances, are to be found advocating the necessity of supporting the oppressive system of indirect taxation as the "settled policy of

* It is supposed, that the whole amount consists of a thousand and eighty millions of acres, a part of which has been surveyed.

the nation;" and, in case the free sons of America should attempt to resist this odious tyranny, they are threatened with an appeal to the sword and bayonet, and at a time when we have a right to expect the utmost moderation and equity from the Government. Surely, sir, this threat must be nothing but the effusion of an *esprit egare*; it is too ludicrous and quixotic! The gallant champions of the loom and the spinning-jenny cannot be serious; for they certainly know that this is not a nation of slaves, from whom the most abject submission is required, to an unjust and unnatural law, originating from a spirit of faction and avarice. Has it, indeed, come to this unhappy pass, that every candid and independent citizen, who openly avows his hostility to a grinding and injurious policy, so repugnant to the principles and interests of freemen, should, in a language of contumely, be denounced, by political adventurers and aspirants for popular favor, as foreigners and aliens at heart? And must abuse be substituted for argument?

Depend upon it, this *farce* cannot succeed; the advocates of Free Trade will not be compelled to abandon a just cause, either by intimidation or ribaldry; the sophistry of our opponents will be destroyed by the light of reason. Our doctrines are based on the sacred principles of Christianity; they emanate from truth and humanity; they require no specious name to bring them into notoriety; they consist of "a reciprocation of kind affections, expressions, and actions;" we do not wish to astound by high-sounding titles, or to build our faith upon a system of vexatious taxation, that would disgrace an Asiatic despot. It is not by groping the way through a maze of metaphysical disquisition that we seek to make converts: ours is a far nobler object. It is to warn our fellow-citizens, in every section of the Union, against the danger of monopolies, united to an overgrown monied aristocracy—against the immoral influence of injudicious Tariff Laws, which introduce fraud, perjury, poverty, and smuggling.

As freemen, it becomes our duty to protest against the acts of an arbitrary majority; and I thank God that no *alien* or sedition law exists, to forbid the freedom of opinion. The name of Albert Gallatin—if from no other cause—is rendered illustrious by his opposition to those abominable bills, and will be transmitted with honor to a grateful posterity; the eminent services rendered by him to his adopted country, are generally acknowledged. A late distinguished and talented Virginian, in passing a just eulogium on his character, has said: "The accuracy of his information, the extent of his

knowledge, the perspicuity of his style, the moderation of his temper, and the irresistible energy of his reasoning powers, render him the ablest advocate that ever appeared in the cause of truth and liberty. Patient and persevering, temperate and firm, no error escapes his vigilance—no calumny provokes his passions. To expose the blunders and absurdities of his adversaries, is the only revenge he will condescend to take for their insolent invectives. Serene in the midst of clamors, he exhibits the arguments of his opponents in their genuine colors, he divests them of the tinsel of declamation and the cobwebs of sophistry, he detects the most plausible errors, he exposes the most latent absurdities, he holds the “mirror up to folly,” and reasons upon every subject with the readiness of intuition, and the certainty of demonstration.” The Memorial of the Free Trade Convention, to Congress, is a strong and satisfactory proof that time and age have not in the smallest degree impaired the faculties of Mr. Gallatin; this great and venerable statesman—whose merits entitle him to the most dignified office in the gift of the people—whose mind is unsullied by prejudice, and untrammelled by intrigue—has, in devoting his time to the rights and interests of his fellow-citizens, fully exposed the fallacy of the Restrictive System. He very properly denominates *that* the *true* American System which, free of restrictions, and permitting every man to pursue those occupations for which he was best fitted, had, in less than two centuries, converted the wilderness into an earthly paradise, and out of a few persecuted emigrants had created a prosperous, happy, and powerful nation.

It is admitted by the most erudite writers on Political Economy, that the Government which unwisely, and, indeed, flagitiously, interferes with the designs of Providence, to regulate the destinies of a people, without a due consideration to their political and moral welfare, and fails to impart to every class equal immunities, not only transgresses against the beneficent laws of God, but violates a sacred trust, *the power* of governing with the most perfect regard to the interests, happiness, and equal rights of the *governed*. It would evidently seem criminal in a Government established by a free people as the safeguard of their liberties, not only to protect and favor particular interests, and to lose sight of the general good—thereby producing jealousies, sectional distinctions, and discontent—but, moreover, by imposing heavy restrictions on foreign commerce, diminish, if not gradually destroy, that natural intercourse the Almighty ordained should be cultivated, for wise purposes, to diffuse more

generally those blessings which He in his mercy can bestow, and which he has left to the industry and enterprize of man to obtain by honest means, and without the tyrannical abuse of power, in any or every part of the habitable globe.

In the words of a learned and liberal writer in the 16th No. of the Southern Review—"We must declare all legislation which is not necessary, to be, *ipso facto*, oppressive, and therefore unconstitutional. With regard especially to restrictions on commerce, imposed with a view to foster domestic industry, they are, if there be any virtue in Political Economy, the exercise of a power which no free Government can be supposed to possess, without a contradiction in terms—a power to levy a tax, without an adequate object—to take away a greater amount of property from some classes, in order to secure, without any benefit to the public, a smaller amount of property to others."

"The American System,"—as it is whimsically termed—consists of principles which constitute a policy altogether foreign; for, what system can be truly American, which fosters a spirit of monopoly—which encourages a lavish expenditure of the public treasure to promote internal improvements in some favored parts of the United States, and not in others—which benefits a few, at the expense of the many—which exhausts the scanty means of the poor man, by taxing heavily every article he consumes? Such is more especially the case under the operation of the present Tariff, by which every honest and disinterested man in this great Republic is grievously oppressed. The people are daily becoming more enlightened on the doctrines of Free Trade; and the period is rapidly approaching, when it will be as dangerous for the Federal Government to attempt to pass an unjust and oppressive Tariff Law, for the protection of manufactures, as to propose to establish Monarchy. We seek not authorities from the laws of ancient Rome, or of England, to induce us to approve of measures more in character with the Government of a Roman Emperor, or a modern Autocrat, than characteristic of the Republican reputation of the free, *sovereign*, and independent, States of America.

God grant that the peace and happiness of the people of this Union may yet be preserved, by an equitable spirit of compromise—and that recriminations, and the bitterness of party feeling, may yield to harmony and unanimity!

Yours, &c.

HERMANN.

SOUTH CAROLINA, *April 23d, 1832.*

My Dear Sir : I wish most sincerely I could say, to the redoubtable champions of the Tariff, in the words of a facetious author—

“I come to bid the hatchet’s labor cease,

“And smoke with friends the calumet of peace !”

Secure in their own ideal strength, and lost to a proper sense of justice and reason, they have rejected all overtures of an honorable compromise and accommodation; but the spirit they would fain attempt to crush will no longer yield in tame submission to the will of despotism; with Herculean vigor it must be exerted, to rescue the Republic from degradation, and arrest the mad career of a domineering majority. There should be no wavering, no temporizing about the course to be pursued—much depends on decision of character. It is criminal to enact a law which, by its usurous and tyrannic operation, aims a mortal blow at the liberties of the country; and, as the Constitution of the United States was framed with the most perfect regard to the security of equal rights to the people of every State of the Union, and granting no advantages to any one class, over another, therefore the Tariff Law of 1828 should be considered a flagrant violation of the Constitution, and ought to be abrogated. An enlightened people cannot be long cajoled and lectured into a passive surrender of their dearest privileges. The truth cannot be concealed, that a spirit of faction and monopoly has gained a fearful ascendancy, and has not only diminished the hard-earned wages of the poor, but threatens to destroy the peace and happiness of the Union. Must the honest and unsuspecting be sacrificed to the inordinate ambition of intriguing politicians? Must some millions of people be plundered, for the support of a few hundred rich proprietors of sugar plantations and iron works, and for the protection of wealthy manufacturers and their partisans. The planters of the South, the yeomanry of the North, the enterprizing mariners, the laborers, blacksmiths, and other industrious mechanics, are all sufferers under this odious and oppressive system of indirect taxation. The merchants, too, unable to sustain the pressure of the times, will sink into poverty and obscurity with the gradual extinction of foreign commerce. Give to these men justice, and an equal distribution of benefits rising from a free and impartial administration of the Federal Government—they ask no more—and, when their country is en-

dangered by a foreign foe, they will be ready to pour out their precious blood in her defence. Let Congress no longer delay to redress their wrongs, and leave them to an uninterrupted enjoyment of the fruits of their labor, uncontrolled and untrammelled, by corrupt legislation. From magnanimity, patriotism, benevolence, much may be derived ;

“But, as for av’rice, ’tis the very devil,

“The fount, alas ! of every evil—

“The cancer of the heart, the worst of ills—

“Wherever sown, luxuriantly it thrives,

“No flow’r of virtue near it thrives—

“Like aconite, where’er it spreads it kills.”

Avarice is certainly the ruling principle of the American System, the main-spring of the complicated machine—and, when put in motion, it involves all who are unwilling to resist its powerful influence, and brings them within the vortex. Even some of the quondam advocates of Free Trade have not escaped. Such is the mutability of poor human nature, that it is not always proof against temptation. That enlightened patriot and able writer on political economy, Mr. Lee, of Boston, has very justly observed, that “There cannot be the smallest doubt, on the mind of any impartial man, that it is the settled determination of the party we are resisting to carry the existing system up to entire prohibition. The question now at issue (says Mr. Lee) is not only whether we shall be relieved from our present burdens, but whether we shall be oppressed with heavy additions to them: for, if the principle be established that certain classes are entitled to tax the nation for the benefit of their particular pursuits, the same privilege must, in common justice, be extended to all who may apply for it.” The writer has also observed—“The truth is, the whole system of taxation is maintained by a few thousand capitalists and politicians, who exercise the same control over the legislation of the country, as is wielded over the Parliamentary enactments of England by a few thousand landholders, who, by means of corn-laws, tax the poor man’s loaf, that they may riot in luxury.”

The soundness of these remarks cannot be denied, and every day furnishes us with additional proofs of their accuracy. It now only remains to be clearly ascertained whether Congress, in accordance with the opinion of Mr. Lee, will persist in adhering to the present iniquitous system of protecting duties. *If they do*, the Southern States will no doubt refuse to submit, and the dispute will quickly

be determined by disunion or nullification! The Constitution must be restored to its pristine purity, and guarded from future violation, or the Union can never be secure. It is proposed to repeal the duties on figs, raisins, currants, dates, tamarinds, capers, olives, juniper berries, nutmegs, macaroni, nuts, and many other trifling articles seldom sought after by the major part of the population of the United States. What a liberal offering to the rich man, to repeal the duties on the luxuries of his table! What a wonderful attempt at conciliation, originating in the combined efforts of the master spirits of the American System! But no tender mercies and charities for the poor! No solicitude for their welfare! They must be compelled to pay most exorbitantly on woollen and cotton goods, on hemp, iron, sugar, salt, and other most useful and necessary articles. A piece of flannel which costs in England 10 cents per yard, is subject to a duty of 12 cents,—(or 120 per centum,)—so that the importation of the very article most needed by the poor, to protect them from the inclemency of the weather, is almost prohibited, that the manufacturer may have an immense profit on the sale of his goods. If this is not cruelty and injustice, I know not what is. How long is this political juggle to continue? What are the grand objects to be attained? Is it for the purpose of gulling all who are ignorant of the principles of Free Trade, that they be the more ready dupes of the American System, and assist in making a Tariff President?—or is it for the purpose of impoverishing the South, and, by reducing it to a state of vassalage, render it tributary to the Northern manufacturers? I must confess I am at a loss to decide, without some light cast upon the subject; and, as more secrets may have transpired from the proceedings of those kind-hearted and disinterested gentlemen who composed the Tariff Convention, than plain unsuspecting people are aware of, I must beg, therefore, to be informed if they have come to your knowledge.

I am yours truly,

HERMANN.

PENNSYLVANIA, June 13th, 1832.

Dear Sir : In one of your late numbers of the Banner, you have clearly demonstrated that what is commonly termed the American System, is, in fact, nothing more than a grand Pauper System—having for the subject of its operation, not the infant, the aged, the infirm, and paralytic; but a race of sturdy beggars, some of whom, you have justly observed, “so far from being poor, are amongst the richest of our citizens.” You have happily illustrated your remarks, by bringing to our notice the manufacturing establishments of the town of Lowell, and the operation of protective duties on cotton goods, &c.—showing, evidently, that Lowell is an alms-house on a great scale, supported at the expense of the people of the whole United States, precisely as the alms-house of Philadelphia is supported at the expense of a local population. Numerous illustrations of this sort have been happily introduced by you, to expose the fallacy of the Tariff and the insidious doctrines of the American System. Your efforts have done much to remove the delusion which still exists, as to the pretended benefits of the Tariff. I do not flatter when I positively assert that I am fully convinced that the productions from your pen have thrown more light on the subject which now so greatly agitates the public mind, than all the publications which have issued from the American press since the Declaration of Independence. Go on, my dear sir, and continue to enlighten your readers on the principles of Free Trade, which you cannot better elucidate than by the judicious mode you have adopted.

In condemning the unjust and oppressive system of indirect taxation, it is very far from my intention to depreciate mechanic enterprise, or underrate our manufactures. My opposition is directed against fanaticism, tyranny, and unequal taxation. Dress them up in what garb you please—clothe these terms under the specious name of the “American System,” the cloven foot shall appear—the monster must be unmasked, and his hideous features exposed. I cannot agree with a learned and distinguished statesman, that the manufacturing establishments are the principalities of the destitute, and the palaces of the poor!—extravagant praise may sometimes be mistaken for burlesque; and as the observation is from an advocate of protective duties and a high Tariff, some allowance may be made. How does the assertion correspond with the accounts furnished by

those candid and independent Editors of the *Eastern Argus*, and the *New England Artizan*? their description of the sufferings of the poor operatives is sufficient to make the heart shudder. The Germans say, "die zeit bringt rosen"—(time brings roses;) but, alas! to these poor people, I fear it will bring nothing but thorns. The Editor of the *Argus* remarks of the manufacturers, "they possess an almost unlimited control over the means of daily subsistence of a large part of those employed—a control, it is well known, that has been prostituted to sectarian and party purposes. He adds, "what must be the effect of confining children of a tender age within the walls of Factories, in a heated and poisonous atmosphere, from twelve to eighteen hours per day"—and yet, these are significantly called "the palaces of the poor!" The Editor of the *New England Artizan* has produced cases of great enormity, one in particular of a poor unfortunate deaf and dumb boy being most cruelly beaten by his tyrant until he was unable to stand—of females most shamefully and brutally punished. He declares, "that he can name (if required) one hundred instances of corporeal punishment which have occurred within two miles of his office"—and, if necessary, he can fill two columns of his paper per week, for two months, with details of barbarities committed in the manufactories. God forbid that these should be considered as "the palaces of the poor," or form any part of what is called "the settled policy of the North!"

If these flagitious acts are tolerated at this time, what will be the situation of the United States in less than half a century? "The million of bayonets," with which the friends of Free Trade and the rights of the poor are now threatened, will, probably, be required to enforce the mandates of remorseless tyranny, and to make victims of the unhappy people—who, like the hard-working poor of Europe, often seek bread and scanty wages, but are scoffed and repulsed with the bayonet. Those who worship mammon have no tender mercies for the poor; little do they care about providing for their wants, when on the bed of sickness—or rescuing orphans from poverty and vice, and improving their morals. Avarice smothers the best feelings of the human heart, and is the ruling passion of monopolists. The title of the Holy Alliance has been given (in derision, I suppose,) to those large capitalists and wealthy iron masters who composed the Harrisburg Convention; and having there matured their plans, and formed the league, left it to their friends in Congress, to pass the "Bill of Abominations" in 1828, for their protection, and called in, or bought the aid of, hireling presses to support it.

It has been said, that these proceedings at Harrisburg were somewhat analogous to the measures of the Congress of Vienna, who met for the better security of the Kings of Europe; and, instead of granting the brave Germans the free institutions promised them for the blood and treasure lavished in the war against France, they considered it of infinitely more importance to consult the views of the "Holy Alliance," and enlisted into their service all the sordid and servile writers they could find, to support the doctrine that the Sovereigns were bound to each other, and under no obligation to grant free Constitutions to their subjects. A certain literary character of Göttingen published a book in defence of this creed, which the students of that University (always distinguished for a high sense of honor and republican spirit,) "reviewed by affixing a copy to the whipping post; then, marching to the author's house, hailed him with a thrice repeated *percat!*"* If the Congress of the United States is sincerely desirous of promoting the general welfare of the American People, they should not hesitate to adopt such a bill as Mr. McDuffie's. What do we want with a revenue beyond what is required to answer the exigencies of the nation? why heap burdens on the people to foster manufactures? why repeal the duties on luxuries, and impose a heavy tax on the necessities of life? We resisted a paltry tea tax and stamp act of the royal government, and must we submit, after the payment of the National Debt, to be trampled upon by a despotism of monied aristocracy? Mr. McDuffie's Bill is moderate and just, and so simplified as to be understood by every citizen who can read. It is free from those petty and vexatious imposts and extortions which harass the merchant, and distress both producers and consumers.

The moral turpitude, so inseparable from an onerous system of indirect taxation, is no where to be found in the bill of that illustrious champion of Free Trade, and who labors to restore the Constitution to its pristine purity. What can be more equitable than his proposition to reduce the duties to twenty-five per centum ad valorem on all iron and steel, salt, sugar, cotton bagging, hemp, flax, and manufactures of iron, cotton, and wool imported into the United States, from the 30th of June, and making a gradual reduction to eighteen and three quarters per centum, to take effect from and after the 30th of June, 1833; and after the 30th of June, 1834, to be brought down to twelve and a half per cent. ad valorem;—

*See Russell's Tour in Germany.

and further, that all other merchandise imported into the United States shall be subject to twelve and a half per cent. ad valorem, from the 30th of June, except such articles as are now imported free of duty, or at a lower rate of ad valorem duty than twelve and a half per cent.

“Be just and fear not—let all the ends thou aimest at be thy God’s, thy Country’s, and Truth’s.” The champions of State Rights and Free Trade will obey these precepts; they have proclaimed their devotion to measures, and disclaim all servile attachment to men. Theirs is a righteous cause—one for which Patrick Henry plead, a Washington fought, and a Montgomery bled. We have been sneeringly told, that the Tariff of 1828 is the settled policy of the North: I should rather call it the political pander which prostitutes the morals and interests of the American People. To enforce this iniquitous policy, Freemen have been threatened with an appeal to the sword and the bayonet, by the hectoring champions of the loom and spinning-jennies. What a silly gasconade! which cannot even make an impression upon our women and children; added to all this, the foul tongue of slander is let loose against the patriots of the land, and the hoary-headed veteran of the Revolution is not spared from abuse, for reminding his countrymen, that they passively submit to be taxed more than tenfold the amount which was imposed by the British Government, and which was so nobly and successfully resisted by the old thirteen United States. Those gallant sons of the North, who are not chained to the car of despotism, will never submit to the chastening rod of their oppressors; they are not insensible to their own wrongs, and know how to sympathize with their suffering brethren of the South; they need no appeal to their generous feelings, to aid them in shaking off the bondage of the Restrictive System. I do not despair of the Republic! I cannot be persuaded that this Union, cemented by the best blood of our Revolutionary patriots, will be sacrificed to a vile and factious spirit of monopoly and avarice.

The cause of Free Trade is the cause of God and nature—of equal rights and the poor—of freedom against taxation and tyranny—of civilization against barbarism—and must be sustained.

HERMANN.

ERRATA.

The first of the foregoing Letters should have been dated from Philadelphia instead of South Carolina.

In page 5, line 8 from the bottom, after the word "balm," *to* should be substituted for "in."

In page 27, line 15, "usurous" should be *usurious*.

LETTER

FROM

HERMANN,

TO

CONDY RAGUET, Esq.

CHARLESTON:

PRINTED BY E. J. VAN BRUNT,
No. 121, East-Bay.

.....
1833.

THE END OF THE WORLD

Dear Sir :

SINCE I last had the pleasure of addressing you, far more auspicious times I trust are likely to dawn on the destinies of our country than could have been reasonably predicted from the gloomy and unpromising aspect of affairs. Six months ago, the rash career of the champions of the Tariff was rapidly hurrying our liberties to the grave, but thanks to kind Providence ! that dreaded event has been averted by the returning sense of justice, which influenced the minds of Statesmen ; who in sacrificing their prejudices on the altar of concord, to preserve the peace of the Union, have not only exhibited wisdom and true greatness, but have gained a triumph which has rendered their fame imperishable, and will transmit to posterity their virtues for imitation. What a contrast with the sordid and grovelling spirit that would do homage to Mammon, and offer up to Moloch a magnanimous people, (struggling to maintain their rights,) as victims to foul ambition, and a lust of power. The present prospect is certainly cheering, compared with the retrospective view of our late position, which could not have been surveyed without exciting mingled emotions of disgust and indignation at the repeated encroachments made by the friends of despotism and consolidated Government, upon the rights of the citizen. The Tariff of 1828—the offspring of combined plot and corruption—the Idol of visionary Politicians and selfish speculators, was held out as a lure to wealth, for such persons, who were willing to embark in the schemes of the monopolists ; and rich spoils were promised to their partisans, each of whom was led to imagine he possessed a power equal to Midas. The plan, too, of freely drawing money from the Public Treasury for sectional purposes, and to further their mercenary views, was secured by Legislative sanction, and under the specious title of the “ American System ;” they determined it should be considered as the settled policy of the country, and arrogated the right of calling it so. It is the settled policy of the Government of an absolute monarchy to enforce the edict of a Tyrant by the sword and bayonet against his oppressed subjects, and impiously to declare it only inferior to the Fiat of Heaven. It is the settled policy of a Turkish Divan to inflict the bow-string on mere suspicion, or by false accusations, to dispossess some un-

happy victim of his life and property. I thank God, however, that the free, sovereign and independent States of this great Federal Republic are composed of a population, of which, the majority are too enlightened ever to submit to be made the instruments of the myrmydons of power, and to be rendered subservient to the will of a faction. They will I trust, never consent to perpetuate their own infamy, by assisting to degrade the character of the country, which it is their pride and ambition to exalt and protect.

In the late contest with the General Government, for the repeal of the odious Tariff, the Southern States endured with a patience and forbearance almost unprecedented in the annals of the history of Republics, evils which were gradually annihilating their agriculture and commerce, exhausting their resources, and compelling them to be tributary to the North. South-Carolina, in particular, after more than ten years of remonstrance and unavailing petitions, was spurned by that very arm which should have been raised for her protection—after finding every avenue to relief closed against her, she at length assumed an attitude worthy of the days of ancient Greece, confiding in the rectitude of her cause, and under the protection of a merciful Providence, she called on her gallant sons to rescue themselves from a most humiliating thralldom, and the same spirit which inspired their ancestors in the days of the Revolution with undaunted courage and led them to victory, now protected the Palmetto Banner, with more than twenty thousand brave volunteers, who faithful to the State, were prepared to peril their lives and property in her defence. When the new “Bill of Abominations” was enacted in 1832, by both Houses of Congress, and all prospect of redress became desperate, did she seek to dissolve the Union, or to disturb the peace of the community by violence and anarchy? The people of South-Carolina disdained so disgraceful a course, for their cause was too sacred to be thus dishonored—they conceived it to be due to their dignity to proceed, “*consilio et animis*,” and having in their sovereign capacity by their Delegates in Convention, solemnly declared the Tariff laws of 1828 and 1832, null and void within the limits of the State, they resolved to defend their liberties against Federal usurpation and aggression, at any and every hazard. Nothing daunted by the ill judged menaces of the Federal Executive, our little Sparta moved on in the even tenor of her course—scorning the vindictive and slanderous abuse of her political enemies—unmoved by their pitiful arts to intimidate her, she steadily pursued the path of truth and honor. I will not soil my paper by repeating the opprobrious language which issued against her from a variety of the most impure channels. In short, nothing could exceed the venom of malignant tongues—no words were deemed too caustic, or too gross with which to assail the Friends of “State Rights and Free Trade;” they produced no discord in our ranks, but on the contrary served to unite us more closely, and excited only contempt and derision. I do not address you with the intention of acting as the encomiast of our party; we leave it to posterity to judge of our conduct, and to determine if we have not been actuated by the purest motives of patriotism: time will prove how shamefully we have been ca-

lumniated, and that our enemies have falsely arraigned us for error of judgement, and unjustly imputed to us a design to withdraw from the Union. From the commencement to the termination of our contest with the Federal Government, South-Carolina was distinguished for moderation, prudence and firmness. She never demanded more than could be sanctioned by the laws of God and nature. Congress denied her justice. The Federal Court had no right to take cognizance of political questions, and two-thirds of the States of the Union being in favor of the Tariff, we could have no expectation of redress from a General Convention. How then was she to act? rather than ignobly succumb any longer to the will of a reckless majority, she had recourse to her reserved rights, granted under the tenth article of the amendments to the Constitution, which expressly declares, "The powers not delegated to the United States, by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." Extreme cases often require powerful and desperate remedies, which ought not be used, except when there is a hope of success. In the situation of South-Carolina, Nullification proved most efficacious, and a complete preventive against Revolution or Secession. She desired a peaceful adjustment of her differences with the General Government—it was folly to doubt her attachment to the Union—the integrity of which she had lavished her best blood and treasure in two wars, to preserve under the most arduous circumstances. She had never murmured or quailed, trusting to her own moral and physical resources, she never calculated the cost when called on by her sister States to unite with them for the general safety. She engaged in the Revolutionary struggle from principle—no State had so little reason to complain of oppression while a colony. She was cherished as a favorite child by the mother country; but I will not dwell on this subject or vaunt of her good deeds, for which she has been so greatly distinguished, and poorly requited. Her enemies dare not refuse to acknowledge that but for the measures adopted by the Convention no modification of the Tariff would have been made by Congress, and without them the monopolists would still have cause to exult. It is a just remark of a highly estimable and distinguished Virginian, that "cupidity was never yet known to let go its hold, without being compelled by some threatening evil." Such has been the unyielding and rancorous spirit of our opponents that they contumaciously persist in denying to a State the right of seceding from the Union; warmly espousing the doctrine of consolidation, they endeavor to sustain *it* by the most flimsy and fallacious argument, contending that the Federal Government is sovereign, that the Union is a nation, not in the common acceptation of the term, but "bona fide" a nation under a consolidated Government, claiming unlimited powers, and arrogantly disclaiming all right on the part of a State to be sovereign and independent, or the people judges of what should constitute their sovereignty, as derived from the Constitution. It is reduced to an axiom that he who enters voluntarily into a compact, has the undoubted right of withdrawing when by a violation of it he is aggrieved by an attempt to practise imposition and deprive him of certain privileges which by the conditions of that compact he was entitled to enjoy. Can it be

supposed that a free, sovereign and independent State should be bound against her will to continue a member of a Confederacy when the principles on which it is based are infringed, and she is thereby left to the mercy and misrule of the dominant party. There are certain civil and natural rights appertaining to the people of every free State, which are undefeasible and unalienable, of which no earthly power can divest them, but treachery and force. The sovereign right is inherent, originating with the people of the States, forming one great confederated Republic, united by the most sacred ties of amity, interest and kindred blood; and if these should fail to preserve the Union—compulsion never can. The doctrines of State sovereignty, State interposition, and the right of secession are now daily becoming better understood, by the people and by no Statesman, have they been more clearly and satisfactorily defined than by Mr. CALHOUN; his reasoning on these interesting subjects has been so lucid—so truly worthy of his great and capacious mind—so perfectly intelligible and convincing, that he who does not comprehend it, must indeed, be unfortunately dull. Mr. CALHOUN's arguments have been termed by a member of the Senate metaphysical, this appears somewhat quaint, perhaps ethical might have been applied with more propriety. Mr. CALHOUN's remarks and reply, are so beautifully characteristic of his fine intellect, that I must be excused for introducing them here, in an extract from his speech, on what is called, "the Revenue Collection Bill"—

"The terms Union, Federal, united, imply a combination of sovereignties, a confederation of States. They are never applied to an association of individuals. Who ever heard of the United State of New-York, of Massachusetts, or of Virginia? Who ever heard the term Federal, or Union, applied to the aggregation of individuals into one community? Nor is the other point less clear—that the sovereignty is in the several States, and that our system is a Union of twenty-four sovereign powers, under a constitutional compact, and not of a divided sovereignty between the States severally and the United States. In spite of all that has been said, he maintained that sovereignty is, in its nature, indivisible. It is the supreme power in a State, and we might just as well speak of half a square, or half of a triangle, as of half a sovereignty. It is a gross error to confound the *exercise* of sovereign powers with *sovereignty* itself, or the *delegation* of such powers with a *surrender* of them. A sovereign may delegate his powers to be exercised by as many agents, as he may think proper, under such conditions and with such limitation as he may impose; but to surrender any portion of his sovereignty to another is to annihilate the whole. The Senator from Delaware (Mr. Clayton) calls this metaphysical reasoning, which, he says, he cannot comprehend. If by metaphysics he means that scholastic refinement which makes distinctions without difference, no one can hold it in more utter contempt than he, (Mr. C.,) but, if on the contrary, he means the power of analysis and combination—that power which reduces the most complex idea into its elements, which traces causes to their first principle, and, by the power of generalisation and combination, unites the whole in one harmonious system; then, so

far from deserving contempt, it is the highest attribute of the human mind. It is the power which raises man above the brute—which distinguishes his faculties from mere sagacity, which he holds in common with inferior animals. It is this power which has raised the astronomer from being a mere gazer at the stars, to the high intellectual eminence of a Newton or Laplace; and astronomy itself from a mere observation of insulated facts into the noble science which displays to our admiration the system of the universe. And shall this high power of the mind, which has effected such wonders, when directed to the laws which control the material world, be forever prohibited, under a senseless cry of metaphysics, from being applied to the high purpose of political science and legislation? He held them to be subject to laws as fixed as matter itself, and to be as fit a subject for the application of the highest intellectual power. Denunciation may indeed fall upon the philosophical enquirer into these first principles, as it did upon Galileo and Bacon, when they first unfolded the great discoveries, which have immortalized their names; but the time will come when truth will prevail in spite of prejudice and denunciation; and when politics and legislation will be considered as much a science as astronomy and chemistry.”

So long as the Government of the United States is administered on the true spirit and principles of the Constitution, the liberties of the people are safe, but if regardless of that good faith which should be observed to all men, the Government is guilty of partiality in bestowing exclusive protection to favored classes, encouraging monopolies, raising up a monied aristocracy, attempting to break up the usages of civilized society, by destroying all confidence between man and man, and by unjust and unconstitutional laws, oppressing the poor to benefit the rich, then it is not only justifiable, but it is the imperative duty of the people, of a free sovereign and independent State, to interpose their authority, and to declare all such acts as violate their rights, *null* and void within the limits of the said State. Cheered and supported under all difficulties by a consciousness of the rectitude of their course, and seeking no favors from men, but adhering rigidly to virtuous principles, the Friends of State Rights and Free Trade in South-Carolina, have clung to the Constitution as to the ark of their political salvation, and it was only in the last extremity, when oppressed by the Federal Government, that they were compelled to seek redress by means of Nullification, a term now in common use, too frequently perverted and most reviled when least understood: held up (if I may be permitted so to express myself,) by the advocates of consolidation as a political “Scarecrow or Bugbear” to deter the wavering and timid from openly siding with the injured party. By some it has been compared to an *Ignis-Fatuus*, beguiling its followers; and by others, denounced as a political heresy. The doctrine, however, has proved too orthodox, for its enemies, and their *Ignis-Fatuus*, has passed into a sacred flame, that neither tyranny or injustice can extinguish.

In my next, I propose to enter more particularly into the subject of State Rights, and although I cannot flatter myself with the hope of making any new suggestions or useful remarks, yet I shall at least have the

consolation of knowing, that my humble efforts have been contributed to elicit truth by keeping alive a spirit of research, without which, even the best cause may languish, and be irretrievably lost. Remember that our victory is not complete, and that much remains to be accomplished. In politics as in religion, there are many valuable lessons by which we may profit, and as applicable to our political situation, there is no better scriptural warning, than this : "He that keepeth Israel shall neither slumber nor sleep." Let us watch then with an eagle eye, the movements of our adversaries, and suffer them not to lull us into a false security. Permit me to express my sincere regret, that you have found it necessary to relinquish the publication of the *Banner of the Constitution*, and have no intention of resuming it at a future period. The zeal and great ability with which you sustained that valuable paper, richly entitles you to the gratitude of every true Friend of State Rights and Free Trade. The sound editorial remarks with which it always abounded, rendered it a most excellent practical work on political economy. I hope that pecuniary considerations did not induce you to abandon it, or that want of punctuality on the part of your subscribers, has led to it ; if so, I shall never cease to lament the cause, knowing that you must have necessarily incurred considerable expense.

With great respect, I remain yours,

HERMANN.

SECOND LETTER

FROM

HERMANN,

TO

CONDY RAGUET, Esq.

CHARLESTON:
PRINTED BY E. J. VAN BRUNT,
No. 121, East-Bay.
.....
1833.

Dear Sir :

IN my last communication, I made some general remarks on the late contest between the State of South-Carolina and the Federal Government, relative to the unconstitutionality and injustice of the Tariff acts, and justified the people of Carolina, for having availed themselves of their reserved rights to resist what might well be considered an usurpation of power exercised by Congress for the protection of manufactures, thereby impoverishing the great agricultural States of the South, and rendering them in some degree tributary to the North, also laying the foundation of invidious distinctions between the various sections of the Union, striking at the root of our Republican institutions, and reducing us to a state of colonial vassalage infinitely more degrading than when we were subject to the dominion of the Royal Government, and far different from those days of prosperity which existed under the administration of WASHINGTON and JEFFERSON.

I will endeavor to demonstrate how egregiously mistaken the Friends of consolidation have been on the subject of State Rights, which I can only attribute to the confined and distorted view they have taken of it, through the combined influence of ignorance and prejudice, to raise up an intolerant and corrupt spirit of monied aristocracy, the very bane of social life, and to be dreaded as a most dire calamity. Time has developed the real objects of the champions of a protective Tariff, and has discovered that very little labour and ingenuity was required to unravel the web of their political heresy, or to detect the sophistry of their fine spun theory of consolidation, with all its attendant evils. Those gentlemen who may have acquired lessons on Government at the courts of Europe, have not been without apt scholars in the United States. Plain Republicans, and men of common sense and moderate ambition, are satisfied with our present form of Government, which needs no overstrained efforts to alter and assimilate it to the aristocratic Governments of the old world. Our Constitution was framed upon the best and most liberal plan which human wisdom could devise. It may be compared to a beautiful fabrick reared by the joint labour of the most able and skilful master workmen the world has produced. The Constitution has been with propriety called a social compact, made by the consent of the people of each of the thirteen United States for the general welfare. It has been justly remarked by an able writer, "that the Government of the United States can claim no powers which are not granted to it by the Constitution, either expressly or by necessary implication"—he adds, "that the words of the Constitution are to be taken in their natural sense without restriction or enlargement." The fact is, the words of the Constitution are so explicit, they leave no room for cavilling; the powers of the General Government are clearly defined, and no law can be considered valid that is not only based on the spirit, but on the plain and literal sense of the words which cannot be misinterpreted; unless with the design of misleading. What higher authority can I quote than that of our estimable

Fellow-citizen, Mr. RAWLE, whose profound legal knowledge, no man can doubt. In his admirable work entitled, "a view of the Constitution of the United States" he remarks, "The powers of the General Government are few and defined, those which remain to the State Government numerous and indefinite." In another part of his Book he says, "In all matters not transferred to the General Government, the rights and interests of the people are confided to the care of the State Governments, and an anxiety to secure and defend them, has been uniformly apparent in all the States." The people cannot be too jealous of the disposition of an arbitrary majority of Congress to trespass on their rights. The danger of investing the executive with powers not authorized by the Constitution is to be apprehended, and should be by all possible means guarded against by the vigilance and determined opposition of the people. In treating of the Executive power, Mr. RAWLE observes, "Limited and restrained as the President is, creature of the people, and subject to the law with all power to do right, he possesses none to do wrong." This is true, provided he is controlled by the strong arm of the supreme law of the land, and not suffered to transcend the powers prescribed by it. When men, who are delegated by the people to legislate for the protection of their rights, abuse the trust reposed in them by giving to the Chief Magistrate the power of exercising military despotism at his discretion, they are no longer worthy of the confidence of their fellow-citizens. Man is naturally fond of power, all his ambitious feelings have a tendency towards it, his actions should be restrained by wise laws, and he cannot always be confided in when brought to encounter difficulties, for with all his moral worth he is not infallible. He who deserves to be truly great, must learn to have his passions under complete command, and none are so despicable as those who are guided more by caprice, interest and malevolence, than by a sense of justice. Nothing is more common than for men to condemn principles which do not meet their views and projects of selfaggrandizement—hence arises the virulence of the Tariffites against the Friends of Free Trade. We must make great allowance for diversity of sentiments among disinterested men; but I feel indignant when I am told of Statesmen (who having filled the highest offices in the gift of a free people, and battered upon their bounty) presuming to dictate, and by the mere force of dogmatism attempt to brow-beat their opponents, or to suppose that the magic influence of their oratory can have more sway than good logic and sound common sense. The weakness and vanity of some men too frequently compel us to lose sight of whatever good qualities they may possess. I have watched with anxiety and interest the political career of our most distinguished Statesmen, and with the varied feelings of pleasure and dissatisfaction, which their conduct excited. Among the documents which the last session of Congress presented to the public, there is one of an extraordinary character, and I cannot deceive myself or others, by dignifying it with the title of a grave State paper, as I think it may be more properly styled a philippic against South-Carolina. I allude to the "Report of the minority of the Committee on Manufactures," in which the Southern Planters are represent-

ed in an unfavorable point of view ; they are made to figure as poor unsuspecting, uninformed beings, whose credulity is imposed upon by crafty and designing men. In reference to the Southern Planter, the author of the Report observes, "He is told that a cruel, tyrannical, oppressive majority in both Houses of Congress are the Representatives of this Highwayman of the North, [*alluding to the Tariff*] that they pervert the very principles of popular Representation to the purposes of oppression and robbery—that they dare not open their hearts to the sentiments of justice and humanity. He is told all this and he believes it." The intelligent planter whose understanding is so much underrated, is perhaps as competent as the author himself to judge of the merits of all great political questions which involve his rights, and the general welfare of the United States ; and why should he not be more capable than men who spend many years at foreign courts, and who become strangers to what is passing in their own country. I can assure the author of the Report that he has formed both a prejudiced and erroneous opinion of the planters of the South. If he will take the trouble to visit them, he will find that they are too enlightened and independent to be cajoled or duped by any man or set of men. Here is another specimen of the vindictive spirit which dictated the following tirade. "And behold the foundation of the superstructure of Nullification—*falsified logic—falsified history—falsified constitutional law—falsified morality—falsified statistics—and falsified and slanderous imputations* upon the majorities of both Houses of Congress for a long series of years—all—all is false and hollow." Without regarding the tautology, or wishing to charge the author with being more influenced by the spirit of "darkness than light" in this effusion of invective against the nullifiers, to whom he has never shewn the least mercy, no more than he would have bestowed on the redoubtable members of the celebrated Hartford Convention, I would merely beg leave to express a hope from my respect for him, that out of charity to the nullifiers, he will in future be more considerate, and I will not be so uncharitable as to accuse him of being hard-hearted, but be contented with applying the old French saying of "*Un saint jean bouche d'or*."

You must remember the outcry that was made by our political opponents, against that part of the Ordinance of Nullification, passed at the first session of our Convention, requiring all civil and military officers to take an oath to obey and enforce the said Ordinance; and at the last session of the Convention, it was ordained, "that the allegiance of the citizens of South-Carolina, while they continued such is due to the said State, and that obedience only and not allegiance is due by them to any other power or authority, to whom a control over them has been, or may be delegated by the States," &c. There is scarce a subject on which those who are scrupulously and religiously exact, differ so much as on the necessity of taking an oath of office or allegiance. The members of the society of friends are religiously opposed to taking an oath and are exempt by law. Some men feel a strong repugnance to lay themselves under so sacred an obligation, lest the frailty of their nature may induce a departure from the strict line of duty. There are others who regard it

as a matter of form, and attach little or no importance to it from the frequent violations which occur, and the too common instances of the crime of perjury, which are seldom punished with proper severity. What by common usage is designated a test oath is too often confounded with oaths of a political nature. Every one who is conversant with the history of England must remember that under the reign of Charles II., in the year 1673, a law was enacted, entitled "the test act, imposing an oath on all who should enjoy any public office." "Besides taking the oath of allegiance, and the Kings supremacy, they were obliged to receive the sacrament once a year in the established Church, and to abjure all belief in the doctrine of transubstantiation." I cannot conceive why any reasonable man should object to take an oath of office, or to swear allegiance unless he is prevented by his religious principles. What is an oath but a great moral tie binding a citizen to be faithful to his public duties, or to the country which protects him. In this free Republic there is no compulsion, and if an oath is imposed by an express law, or required to be taken under the Constitution, before he enters on the duties of his office he can withdraw his claim, or if he prefers it, let him leave the State. Was I destined to pass my days in the free State of Saxo-Weimar or Hanover, and be dependent for my maintenance upon either of them, and enjoy the same rights with a native subject, I would certainly without hesitation take the oath of allegiance, and should consider myself wholly bound to be obedient to the laws and ready to defend the State from all aggressions of foreign powers, and acts of tyranny and oppression of the Germanic confederacy, affecting life, liberty and property. As dearly as I value the Union, and as ardently as I wish that harmony and prosperity should prevail in every section of it, yet I am firmly of opinion that the first duty of a native or adopted citizen is to the State which affords him a support; the next is obedience to all constitutional laws of the Federal Government. I should indeed be a recreant son of that State which has nourished and reared me if I did not consider myself bound by every sacred tie to serve her in good and in evil fortune. The subject of State Rights may appear somewhat complicated to those who do not understand it; the variety of questions which it involves are intimately linked together, and all rest upon the strong and fundamental laws of truth and justice.

In a former letter to you, I ventured to make a few remarks on the right of Secession, I shall now resume the subject with a full conviction on my mind that such a right does exist from the very circumstance alone of each of the old thirteen States having entered of their own free will into a confederacy for their mutual good, and from which they or any one of them are at liberty to withdraw, whenever the compact which unites them is violated. This position I believe to be tenable, and cannot be destroyed by any argument which the advocates of consolidation may think proper to advance. I am borne out in my opinion by the authority of some of the most distinguished Statesmen and Lawyers of the United States. Mr. RAWLE, in his work on the Constitution observes,* "The

* See the Chapter on the permanence of the Union.

Secession of a State from the Union, depends on the will of the people of such State." And in the next page he says, "The people of the State may have some reasons to complain in respect to acts of the General Government, they may in such cases invest some of their own officers with the power of negotiation, and may declare an absolute Secession in case of their failure." In a well written paper published a few years ago in one of the numbers of the *Southern Review*, on the Georgia controversy, and ascribed to the pen of Col. DRAYTON, the right of a State to secede is admitted in the most positive and unequivocal terms.

I will now call your attention to the late modification of the Tariff. In defiance of all the vapouring and terrific threats of the sword and the bayonet; and the tremendous force of a "million of musket bearing freemen," who were to annihilate every friend of Free Trade in the United States, and every opponent of a most iniquitous system of indirect taxation, the great cause of truth and justice has prevailed. The stately American eagle continues his flight with all his wonted majesty and pride without losing a feather from his wing; and South-Carolina remains where I trust she will ever be found—in the Union—and for this she is not only indebted to her own glorious efforts, but to the triumph of humanity over vice, and wisdom over folly. The ocean will again become the untrammelled highway for nations, and in the eloquent words of the illustrious PATRICK HENRY, we may then say, "Let commerce be as free as air, she will range the whole creation, and return on the four winds of Heaven to bless the land with plenty." Whatever may have been Mr. CLAY's political sins, he has in a great measure atoned for them by his magnanimous conduct at the close of the last session of Congress—anxious to avert the gathering storm which threatened to destroy the Union, he came forward as a mediator, and happily succeeded in effecting a compromise—thus was it destined that the very man who had contributed so zealously to advocate and support the Tariff, should be instrumental in giving a fatal blow to its existence—such is the mutability of human events! By this act he has raised himself in the estimation of the people of the Anti-Tariff States, and by this act he has placed Kentucky where nature intended she should be—in a situation to enjoy all the advantages of a close and friendly commercial intercourse with her sister Carolina. Virginia will hail with joy her regenerated son, and deck his brow with a civic wreath, more pure and spotless than the laurels which are won by military chieftains. Few men when put to the trial are possessed of sufficient moral courage to triumph over themselves. In the late contest in the Senate, when the question was whether the act of 1832, should remain untouched, or be repealed, Mr. CLAY, whose feelings had been so warmly enlisted in behalf of high protective duties, yielded them for the general welfare; and by that means gained a victory, as honorable for himself, as for his country. I confess to you, that he was the last man in the United States, from whom I expected a proposition for a compromise. I had despaired, when to my joy, I learnt that a redeeming spirit existed, which I sincerely hope may continue to guide and aid him in completing the good work of reform he has so liberally commenced.

When Mr. CLAY's Bill was reported, and before it had passed in the Senate, I had formed a most imperfect and hasty opinion of it, and was disposed to view it as a device to assuage the wounded feelings of the South, and only lull them into a temporary security. The Bill is undoubtedly a peace offering, and as such was accepted by the whole Southern delegation. Although it is by no means such a one as the South had a right to desire, yet it may be considered as a victory, and in the main, satisfactory to the friends of Free Trade, because it abandons the principle of protection—promises to reduce the revenue to the economical wants of the Government—gets rid of the odious and vexatious minimum duties; and what is of great importance to the commerce of the Southern States, it exempts from duty after December 31, 1833, linens, worsted stuffs and silks. The objections are, the length of time, before the duties will be brought down to the revenue standard—the home valuation and cash duties. The terms are advantageous to the manufacturers, and they may indeed consider themselves highly favored, for by what plea of justice had they a claim to as much as has been granted to them by this Bill? Do they derive any from their wealth, their number, or their merit? The first, our Republican principles can never sanction—the second gives them small pretensions, for (including old and young, male and female,) the whole number of rich stockholders and operatives does not consist of more than half a million, out of a population of thirteen millions. As to the last I will not be so ungenerous as to cast any imputation on it. Let them confide more in their own industry and resources, and less in the Government for success, and leave the rest to time and the people. From what æra can we with more propriety date our prosperity than the present, and under what more favorable circumstances can we begin the work of retrenchment by dispensing with the services of supernumerary officers of custom-houses, and by striking off from the pension list many who are in the enjoyment of fortunes, more than competent to their support? It is the duty of the Government to relieve the people from all useless burdens. There is as little necessity for being penurious as there is for being guilty of a lavish expenditure of the public money, which should be equally and equitably distributed among all the States without distinction. The national debt nearly extinguished, and a thousand millions of acres of public lands for sale, we may hope for a long series of years of general prosperity and harmony. The acceptance of Mr. CLAY's Bill renders it almost useless for me to notice the measures of the Virginia Legislature; I must remark, however, that from my knowledge of the spirit which prevailed among the sons of that ancient and respectable State, less than twenty years ago, there would have been more of ardour and zeal, and less of lukewarmness than has lately been exhibited in the cause of Free Trade and State Rights; but, with such men as UPSHUR, TAZEWELL, FLOYD and JONES, we have every thing to hope for and nothing to fear. I shall, however, never cease to respect the motives which dictated the appointment of Mr. LEIGH, as commissioner; the choice could not have fallen upon a more amiable, honorable and worthy man; or one better qualified for such an office: his short stay in Carolina, endeared him to all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance.

The long agitated question, whether a Tariff act for the protection of manufactures, can be considered constitutional has been generally decided as both unjust and unconstitutional. The moral turpitude which has been universally known to be inseparable from an oppressive system of indirect taxation, is of itself sufficient evidence that it could never have been contemplated by those patriotic Statesmen, whose combined wisdom framed the Constitution, that duties should be levied for the protection of manufactures; or that more money should be raised than would be sufficient for the wants of the Government. It would be a libel on their memory to charge them with such a design. A work on the rights of an American citizen, written by BENJAMIN L. OLIVER, of Boston, contains the following just remarks, "Can it be imagined then, that under such a power to regulate trade, Congress has a constitutional authority to adopt measures injurious to it, for the purpose of advancing some other interest? Certainly not. If so then it is quite clear that Congress under the power of regulating trade, has no constitutional authority to lay a duty on imports for the mere purpose of encouraging manufactures." The diffusion of knowledge on this subject by such able and distinguished men as HENRY LEE, of Boston, WADSWORTH, of New-York, CLEMENT BIDDLE, of Philadelphia, and Professor DEW, of Virginia, cannot be too highly appreciated. It is to the light of science we must look to remove the darkness which has pervaded the Tariff States, and concealed from the great mass of the population their true interests. It is from the works of such illustrious writers as a FENELON, ADAM SMITH, DUGALD STEWART and SAY, that we should seek information, and not rely upon, or be led astray by the fallacious theories and misrepresentations of shallow productions. The author from whom I have just quoted, in questioning the right of Congress to levy heavy duties for the protection of manufactures, and in commenting on the expediency of the measure, observes, "If one State alone is to suffer in its trade, yet derive little or no advantage from such measures, while the other States without suffering any material disadvantage in their commerce, are to derive the whole advantage of such measures, this will be wholly contrary to the true intention of the parties to the Constitution, as well as taking a very unfair and dishonorable advantage of the State thus oppressed." South-Carolina, although she took a conspicuous part in resisting the injustice of the Tariff acts of 1828, and 1832, is yet only one of nine of the States which have been oppressed. Thousands of enlightened men of the middle and western States, although they kept aloof from the contest, yet I have good reason to believe that their sympathy was extended to their friends in Carolina. The spell which has so long bound Ohio and Kentucky to the Tariff monster is broken, and they will in future be convinced how greatly it will be for their interest to devote their attention to agriculture, and leave manufactures to those States where nature has not so amply provided for the wants of man, and where the population is dense, the lands poor, and the climate unfriendly to the growth of the rich products of the soil.

With great respect, I remain yours,

HERMANN.

LETTER OF "HERMANN,"

PUBLISHED IN THE "EXAMINER"

OF THE 17th SEPTEMBER, 1834.

"The last question discussed in the Report on the Bank question, by the Senate's committee, is, "What has been the management of the Bank?" And the answer is summed up as follows:—"The Bank, in the last eleven years, has overcome all the difficulties which stood in its way; has given to its notes a universal circulation, redeemable where soever presented, has increased the circulation from four to twenty millions; has facilitated domestic exchanges by diminishing its rates; and, by increasing the annual amount purchased from seven to seventy millions, has purified the general currency, and has doubled the profits of the Bank itself."—*National Gazette*.

LETTER, &c.

The Bank.—We give place in this day's Examiner, to a communication from our old correspondent "Hermann," whose name is well known to the readers of our former paper, the Banner of the Constitution. He was a firm friend of Mr. Jackson, prior to his Proclamation of the 10th of December, 1832, and only abandoned him, as other honest men did, when he deserted the principles, for his advocacy of which, he was elected to the Presidency. The zeal displayed by our correspondent for the re-charter of the Bank, has no connexion with private interest, as we are assured that he does not possess a share of its stock, but, as in other instances, has probably been produced by the indignation excited at the means resorted to by Mr. Jackson, in order to accomplish its overthrow.

In publishing this communication, we are not to be considered as responsible for its contents. Whilst we accord with it fully in its denunciation of the unlawful procedure of seizing upon the public purse, as well as in the testimony it bears to the respectability of the President and Directors of the Bank, we have seen no reason to change our original opinion of the unconstitutionality of any corporation chartered by the *Federal government*.—*Examiner*.

MR. EDITOR,—During the present agitated state of the public feeling, permit an old correspondent to solicit your attention to that which should continue to engage the thoughts of all classes of the community—"the removal of the Public Deposites"—a political offence that has no parallel in any free nation of the world. If an enlightened people resolve not to submit to a domineering faction, and to be neither inveigled or bullied out of their rights, and reduced to a state of vassalage; then let them, as they regard the country which is endeared to them by the most sacred ties, and which gave birth to the venerated Washington and Franklin, never suffer this subject to be buried in oblivion, for the same power which has so shamefully violated the public faith, and trampled on the laws of the land, is prepared with the sword and purse at command, to destroy every vestige of freedom, unless the arm of the usurper is arrested, and his myrmidons, who are fattening on the ill-gotten spoils of a much injured country, are driven from office. If I could be inspired with the spirit of a Junius, I would devote my pen to rouse the people from their apathy, and call on them to efface the foul stain from the character of the nation which it has received, and to cleanse the public offices, *some* of which (like the Augean Stable) are so filled with corruption, as to require a Herculean labour to rid them of it. In addressing you in the language of truth and common sense, I do assure you, that under their influence, I have endeavored through the course of my life, to be guided by republican principles. I have never sought, nor do I covet office. I defy the shaft of calumny, and despise the sophistry, petty intrigue, and mean subterfuge of unprincipled men, whether they move in private or public stations. I have been, as you well know, a warm and disinterested eulogist of the present chief magistrate of the United States. That time is past—all men are liable to err—and I am free to confess that I have been deceived. When I found him deviating from the path of political rectitude, and surrounded by a horde of satellites, composed of sycophants and time-serving minions, ready to crouch at the footstool of the Dictator, my heart sickened with

disgust. Has he not rejected the friendly counsel of the most upright, sensible and honorable men of the nation, to gratify a set of cringing hypocrites, and ravenous office-hunters? Posterity may do justice to Andrew Jackson, as the hero of New-Orleans, but his conduct as President of the United States, will be condemned for the unnatural and ferocious part he was eager to act against his native State, (South-Carolina,) whose chivalric and patriotic sons had the courage to redress their own grievances, and prove how dangerous it is to infringe the rights of a gallant and independent people with impunity; and I am happy to say that thousands who were disposed to unite in supporting the odious and tyrannical measures of the President against the Nullifiers, now nobly acknowledge their error, and have adopted their doctrines, and for *one man in 1832*, who exclaimed against nullification, there are a thousand who now rest their faith on State Rights and State Remedies.—“*Tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis.*”

I will not trespass much longer on your patience, as it forms no part of my purpose to notice particularly the various abuses and flagrant acts of injustice, with which the administration is charged,—the chief of which are, that precious piece of fustian, the Proclamation,—the **FORCE BILL**,—Protest,—*Corruption* of the Post Office Department—Land Office, &c. &c. &c. My object is to confine your attention to the gross outrage committed by the President, and in defiance of the public opinion, in wantonly violating the Bank charter, by a removal of the Deposites; contrary to the interests of the people, and without the consent of Congress.

Sir, I blush for the honor of my country, when I consider that this rash step, which would bring the kingly head of a free state to the block, was the deed of a republican President, and too passively submitted to by a republican people. The day of retribution is at hand, when political delinquents must answer for their transgressions. At the approaching elections, the people should be reminded of the Removal of the Deposites, and not suffer the question of Bank or no Bank, to make them forget the duty they owe to their country, in removing those public servants, who sanctioned the outrage by their votes in Congress. If they will not avail themselves of the right of calling on their legislatures to compel the merchants to pay the amount of their bonds to the United States Bank, they must trust to the tardy operation of the Ballot Box for redress. As to the Bank, it has stood like a rock in the sea, unmoved by the dashing of the foaming billows. The ungenerous manner in which it has been assailed and traduced, and the repeated attempts made to criminate the President and Directors, have been met by a manly, fair and honorable spirit, which, while it has elevated their character in the public estimation, and confirmed the utility of this great national institution, has exposed the blind infatuation of its enemies. The confidence in the integrity of the Bank is undiminished, and the monied interests of the government and stockholders have been conducted, both under the administration of Mr. Cheves and Mr. Biddle, with the most rigid regard to honor and punctuality. What greater proof can be given of the high respectability and soundness of the Bank, than the perfect confidence reposed in it by foreigners in every part of the world. The liberality which it has exhibited on numerous occasions, has called forth universal approbation. In many instances, it has sustained some of the local Banks, and saved them from bankruptcy. It is also generally known, that in 1832, the Bank negotiated bills to the amount of \$120,000,000, without charge or premium. The learned Dr. Cooper, of Columbia, in South-Carolina, has truly remarked, that the Bank “has not only proved itself an institution of great public utility, but has been in no instance the tool of a political party.”

Although the constitution has not provided for the establishment of a national bank, and many persons object to a re-charter, solely on this account, yet when it has been found from experience how necessary it has been to the commercial prosperity of every State of the Union, we ought to yield much to the general good. Without the United States Bank, we might be placed at the mercy of a set of political sharpers, or subjected to the unreasonable demands of brokers;—without this Bank, trade would suffer much embarrassment, and consequently, produce, houses, land and labor, would greatly depreciate, and as a safe place of deposit, it could have no rival. What will become of the public treasure, if left to a corrupt President, aided by a more corrupt legislation? It would probably be squandered away in bribery at elections, or in paying and supporting political knaves and spendthrifts—and this would eventuate in national bankruptcy, and heavy direct taxes. If the ruthless warfare now waged by General Jackson against the Bank, should effect its downfall, the people will not know how to estimate the loss, until they feel the serious inconveniences arising from it. The Bank was first chartered under the administration of General Washington. Whatever that great and good man deemed expedient for the welfare of his country, proved right,—his example has been followed by every successive administration, *except* Andrew Jackson. It is not too late for him to lay aside his animosity and personal prejudices; he is accused of being of a vindictive spirit; let him come forward, and convince us to the contrary. General Washington had no great difficulty in conquering his enemies in the field, but his chief merit consisted in making friends of his enemies, and in subduing the greatest enemy of all, his passions! and in so doing, he evinced true greatness of mind. Let General Jackson cease to be the President of a faction, and repair, if possible, the injuries he has done, before he can ever hope for forgiveness from a free and generous people. There is no want of highly honorable and zealous defenders of the Constitution and Freedom in both Houses of Congress, who have faithfully done their duty. I trust in God there is a redeeming spirit, which will rescue this once happy, but now degraded country, from impending ruin, and revive those halcyon days, when the United States enjoyed uninterrupted prosperity, and our citizens were proud of preserving their rights and privileges unimpaired.

Yours, truly,

HERMANN.





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